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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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NO. 1.

HAMILTON ROWAN GAMBLE AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MISSOURI.

Hamilton Rowan Gamble was born in Winchester, Virginia, November 29th, 1798. His grandfather emigrated from Ireland to the Colony of Pennsylvania in 1753, but after a few years returned to his native land. His eldest son, however, returned to America prior to the Revolution, and served conspicuously as an engineer in the American army during the war. Subsequently he became a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, occupying the chair of Professor of Greek and Latin in the University of Pennsylvania. A younger son, Joseph, was born in Ireland, after the father returned there. He was the father of the subject of this article. His wife was Anne Hamilton, daughter of John Hamilton, of the Strath, Ireland. They arrived and settled in Virginia in 1784. There were seven children born to them; the youngest of whom was Hamilton Rowan Gamble. From this Hibernian strain, doubtless, came that rich vein of genuine humor which, now and then, in conversation enlivened as a glad sunbeam his serious face, and often flashed out in his speeches relieving the severity of his logic.

His academic education was completed at Hampden-Sidney College, Prince Edward County. He studied law; and

such were his precocity and development that by the time he reached his majority he had been admitted to the bar in three states. At first he went to Tennessee; but becoming attracted to St. Louis he arrived there in 1818, and became deputy circuit clerk under his elder brother Archibald Gamble. The spirit of adventure and enterprise being strong in him he went farther west, and located at Old Franklin, the county seat of Howard County, which at that time comprised more than one-half of the territory of the State. By the force of specific ascendancy he soon became Prosecuting Attorney of that vast jurisdiction. In that capacity he early displayed a conspicuous quality of his character, a conscientious sense of duty. If he discovered that the person charged with the commission of an offense was not guilty, or that the evidence against him was not satisfactory to his honest mind, he did not hesitate to ask leave to enter a nolle, or suggest to the jury a verdict of not guilty. And this was characteristic of his whole private and public life,—inculcating the aphorism that success won at the sacrifice of justice is dishonor.

There is a tradition, vouched for by Hon. James O. Broadhead, as coming second handed from Judge Abiel Leonard, that while Gamble, Leonard and John R. French were “young limbs of the law” at Old Franklin, French and some one, whose name is forgotten, agreed to fight a duel. Gamble and Leonard were the seconds. The party rode horse back across the State to Louisiana, Pike County, near the selected place for the deadly encounter, known then as Chenal Ecarti, on the Mississippi River. All stopped at an old hostelry, wearied with the trip, and sought rejuvenation in that elixir that either makes friends or enemies of those who touch glasses. They stood elbow to elbow and man to man as the glasses clicked together; and as their hearts warmed their hands clasped in friendship, and the duel was indefinitely postponed.

When Frederick Bates became Governor of the State young Gamble was selected as Secretary, which took him to St. Charles, then the seat of Government. Governor Bates

soon thereafter died, whereupon Mr. Gamble returned to St. Louis, and resumed the practice of law. There meeting Miss Coalter, of Columbia, South Carolina, he wooed and was accepted, and they were married at the old homestead in November, 1827. The bride's father was a distinguished South Carolinian. His daughters must have possessed rare charms of person and character, for others of them wedded such men as Edward Bates, of St. Louis, William C. Preston, of South Carolina, Chancellor Harper, and Dr. Means, brother of Governor Means, of South Carolina, himself a leading planter and citizen of the Commonwealth.

Such were his attainments and qualities that in a short time he stood at the forefront of a bar that could boast of such members as Thomas H. Benton, Henry S. Geyer, and David Barton, United States Senators, Mathias McGirk and Robert Wash, afterwards members of the Supreme Court, and his brother-in-law, Edward Bates, afterwards Attorney General of the United States; and he was the peer of after-comers, greater lawyers than they. All of whom found Gamble, at Nisi or before the higher courts, a most formidable competitor; always to be feared and respected for his surpassing ability and tact.

His distinctive attainments and judicial temper commended him for a place on the Supreme bench of the State, to which he was elected, receiving an unprecedented majority although in politics he was of the minority party. He took his seat in that court in 1851. There was then no office of Chief Justice, but his associates voted him the presidency of the court. His first opinion appears on the first page of the 15th and his last in the 20th volume of the Supreme Court reports. Although his career on the bench was short his opinions built for him an enduring monument as an eminent jurist. Owing to increasing ill health he resigned in November, 1854. Returning to St. Louis he seldom appeared thereafter in the Nisi courts, but occasionally in important causes before the higher courts of the State and Nation.

By his good business sense and the income from his profession he accumulated a considerable fortune, sufficient to enable him to seek rest from the hard life of the lawyer, and to give attention to his impaired health. In order to find that surcease, and with a view to the supervision of the education of his children he took up a temporary residence near Norristown, Pennsylvania; where he pursued his reading of the best literature, and the study of the history and science of government and political economy. He was not a politician, in the ordinary sense of the term. But he was an observant student of the ebb and flow of the tides of State and National affairs, the undercurrents and trend of public opinion. Few men possessed more familiarity with the history of the country in its passage through the Colonial epoch into the formation of the federal Union. He knew the phases and import of every article and section of the federal Constitution. He was familiar with the interpretations and applications given it by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the **rationale** of every decision touching its meaning and operation. He went deep into the science and philosophy of our form of government, State and National. So that when the great crisis of the impending civil war came, which was to test the capacity of the Constitution in peace and war, and to solve the problem of the dependence of the federal Union on the will of each of the States to the federation, naturally enough his constituency at home, representing the vital interests of the commercial metropolis of the Mississippi valley, turned to the Sage in retirement at Norristown, and appealed to him to represent them in the Convention called by the state legislature to convene at the Capital on February 28th, 1861, to consider the relations of the State to the Federal Union. While a sense of duty to himself and his family made desirable his restful, quiet life in a distant peaceful State, he, doubtless, recalled the sentiment of the Old Roman patriot: *necesse est ut eam non ut vivam*, and he heeded that call, receiving the almost unanimous vote of his Senatorial District.

In some respects that convention was the most remarkable

body of men that ever assembled in the State. With few exceptions, they were not of the class usually found in legislature, or popular assemblages. They were grave, thoughtful, discreet, educated men, profoundly impressed with the great responsibilities of their position. Among them were ex-Judges of the Supreme Court, ex-Governors, ex-Congressmen, ex-State Senators and Representatives, leading lawyers, farmers, merchants, bankers, and retired business men, representing the varied, vital interests of the communities. No impartial, intelligent man can look over the debates of that body, extending over two years and more, without being deeply impressed with the idea of their tremendous intellectual power and sense of moral, patriotic obligation.

True it is, that there were to be seen and heard among them the siren voice of the politician of low degree, "big with vacuity"—self seeking partisans. But I recall the visable effect of Judge Gamble's rebuke, when under provocation from a noisome, inveterate talker, he said:

"What should be the object of each one of us? Is it to represent a party connected with the administration of the Federal Government, or opposed to it? Is it for the purpose of representing any of the defunct political parties that have passed from the stage of action? We have nothing to do with them. We came here and are to act with reference to no question that concerns them or their past history, their future resuscitation or domination in this State. We are to act for the people of the State of Missouri in reference to their interest, their honor, in reference to the perpetuation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed,—as long as we have trod the soil of Missouri. If, Sir, there be a feeling that one is to obtain a triumph over the other, certainly the only triumph now worthy of attainment, is that of being found more faithful than others in discharge of duties devolving upon us." (1)

1. Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention held at Jefferson City, July, 1861, p. 73.

There were some great speeches made before that Convention, dealing with the character of the federal Union, the relations of the respective States thereto, and the lawful right of one of them without the consent of others to withdraw, *ad libitum*, from the Union. Judge Gamble never made a set speech. He disliked mere meretricious display, in which self is never lost sight of. He was, indeed, what Rufus Choate termed a thing most rare, "a reasonable, modest, learned man." He was not an orator, in the popular sense. His eloquence was that masterful logic, deep, sincere earnestness, that overwhelms sophistry and convinces intelligent judgment. No art of the adversary could deflect him from the objective point under consideration. He stuck with pertinacious energy to the facts and law that controlled, and struck hard at the gnarled knots in the way.

There was one position, especially taken by Judge Gamble and Willard P. Hall, respecting the action to be declared by the Convention at its first session, which profoundly impressed all. It could not be better expressed than in the succinct summary of Hall's remarks on the occasion of taking the oath of office as Lieutenant Governor:

"I believe, gentlemen, that to Missouri Union is peace and disunion is war. I believe that today Missouri could be as peaceful as Illinois, if her citizens had recognized their obligations to the Constitution and laws of their country. Whatever might be said by citizens of other States, certainly Missouri has no right to complain of the General Government. I believe it to be a fact that there is no law of a general character upon your statutes that has been enacted since Missouri came into the Union, but has received the vote and support of the representatives of the State. Whatever we have asked from the government of the United States has been given to us most cheerfully. We asked a liberal land policy and we got it; we asked grants for our railroads and we got them; we asked for a fugitive

slave law and it was given to us; we asked that our peculiar views in reference to the finances of the country should be regarded, and even that was granted. In short, if the people of this State had the whole control of the Federal Government, if there had been but one State in the Union, the very policy which has been adopted by the General Government would have been adopted as best calculated to advance the interests of the State. * * * Notwithstanding the denunciations we sometimes hear against the Government of the United States and the assaults made upon it, I am free to admit, that when I reflect upon the history of this State, when I remember its humble origin,—upon the proud and exalted position it occupied but a few months ago, my affections do cluster around the government of my country. As a Missourian I desire no change in the political relations that exist between this State and the Government of the United States; and least of all, do I desire such a change as will throw her into the arms of those who have proved unfaithful to the high trust imposed upon them by a generous and confiding people.” (2)

When the convention disappointed the expectations of the authors of the legislative act calling it, by declining to pass an ordinance of secession, Governor Claib Jackson, as was then more than suspected and believed by well informed men, busied himself covertly with preparations to have his Legislature pass such an ordinance, and to be prepared with a military force to enforce its recognition. The developments of history, disclosed since the war, fully confirm that belief. When Frank Blair brought about the contretemps of the Camp Jackson maneuver, the Governor captured the President of the Convention, General Sterling Price, by making him commander of the Militia of the State; and with him and a ma-

2. Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention held at Jefferson City, July, 1861, p. 136.

majority of the Legislature and the heads of the executive departments, carrying off the great seal of the State, assembled at Neosho, and went through the form of passing an act of secession. Disbanding, the Governor and staff, with the Lieutenant Governor, with the seal of the State, went outside of the State, within the military lines under the flag of the Southern Confederacy, proclaiming that they were a part of the Confederacy. They could not return to the capital of Missouri without the risk of being arrested for treason.

The result was that the Convention, in session at the capitol found itself confronted with a most anomalous situation. The State treasury was depleted, and the Convention was left without the means of defraying its own expenses. There was no military force to protect the State in the condition of exposure to anarchy. The State was under martial law; and a German military commandant, with but crude ideas of civil government, was dominant at the State capital. Under the recent census the State was entitled to two additional representatives in the Congress of the United States, demanding a new apportionment of the Congressional districts, or a legislative enactment providing for the manner of securing such additional representation. The Legislature had disbanded without making any provision therefor.

What was the duty of the members of the Convention in such a conjuncture to the people of the State who had sent them to the capital to represent them? Were they to display the moral cowardice of those "who do not care what becomes of the Ship of State, so that they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune," or should they first save the State, and leave their action to the sober judgment of posterity? They chose the latter course.

Naturally enough the few favoring secession or nothing, and others in sympathy with the absent State officials, desiring that nothing should be done conflicting with the mere theory of their official existence, vigorously opposed any action of the Convention other than an adjournment sine die. The opposition was led principally, in so far as talking was

concerned, by Uriel Wright of St. Louis, who had come to the Convention as an unconditional Unionist; and at its first session had made a three days' speech in opposition to the whole theory of secession, minimizing the grievances of the seceding States, with a force of eloquence that enthused, beyond description, the entire Convention, including the presiding officer, General Price, who while with dignity seeking to repress the applause of the galleries, said to me on adjournment, in walking to the old Planter's House where we boarded: "That speech was so fine I too felt like applauding." But alas, for the infirmity of great geniuses, Wright was carried off of his high pedestal by the small incident of the Camp Jackson affair, and came to the July session of the Convention anxious to display the usual zeal of the new convert. So he turned loose the whole vocabulary of his invective against everything and everybody pro-Union. To my conception he was the most brilliant orator of the State, with a vast wealth of historical, political and literary information. Like a very tragedian he bestrode the platform, and with the harmony of accent and emphasis he charmed like a siren. But he was unsteady in judgment, unstable in conviction and inconsistent of purpose. And, therefore, was wanting in that moral force that holds and leads thoughtful men. His rhetoric went into thin air before the severe logic and more sincere eloquence of such men as Judge Gamble, the two brothers, William A. and Willard P. Hall, John B. Henderson and James O. Broadhead.

The arguments advanced in favor of the power of the Convention to establish a Provisional government to meet the emergency may be summarized as follows: The Convention called for by the Legislature was elected by popular vote of the people. Under our form of representative government when such delegates met they were as the whole people of the State assembled. Insofar as concerned the domestic, local affairs and policy of the State, the people were all powerful to make and unmake, bind and unbind, so long as they maintained a government Republican in form, and not in conflict with the Federal constitution. The only recognizable limita-

tion upon its power was to be found in the terms of the legislative enactment calling it.

In anticipation and expectation of the framers of the act, that an Ordinance of secession would be adopted, they sought to invest the Convention with most plenary powers, in order to meet the requirements of the new, extraordinary conditions likely to arise, both from without and within the State. Accordingly the Convention was authorized not only to take consideration of the existing relations between the government of the United States and the governments and people of the different States, but also "the government and people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State, and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." So that the Convention during its deliberations found civil government in the State paralyzed, without a head, society unprotected by the arm of the State, disorder and confusion fast spreading over it like a pall of anarchy. It was the deliberate judgment of the great majority that it was neither extra-constitutional, usurpatory, nor without the recognized law of public necessity, that it should provide a Provisional Government, **ad interim.**

The first step in this work of conservation was to provide for an executive head. And no higher evidence of the conservative impulses of the Convention could be furnished than the fact of its designation of Hamilton R. Gamble as Governor and Willard P. Hall as Lieutenant Governor. Where could have been found two wiser, safer, more prudent, unselfish men? Their very names were a rainbow of promise to the sorely vexed and perplexed people of the State. With unflinching energy, consummate ability and unfaltering courage Governor Gamble set his face and all the aids he could command to the work of restoring order, lawful process, and peace within the borders of the commonwealth.

That in that endeavor and purpose he and his coadjutors should have encountered opposition and criticism from the very element he so earnestly strove to protect excited wonder

among thoughtful, good citizens at the time; and in the light of experience it now seems anomalous. There were two extremes in the State. One was the impracticable theorists, who rather than accept deliverance from any source other than the Claib Jackson defunct government, would accept anarchy. The other was the inflamed Radicals, who preferred the substitution of military for civil government, so long as under its bloody reign they could make reprisals and reek personal spites upon an unarmed class who had incurred their dislike. In other words, they preferred a condition of disorder and confusion as more favorable to rapine, plunder and persecution. The very determined policy of the Gamble administration to extend protection to noncombatants, to life, liberty and property, was made the slogan of the rapidly recruiting forces of radicalism that "the Gamble Government" was but another name for Southern Sympathy. This feeling was ingeniously communicated to the Secretary of War, Stanton, whose motto seemed to be *aut Caesar aut Nihil*.

Between the two factions, the one denying on every occasion the lawful authority of his administration, and, therefore, yielding him not even needed moral support, and the other demanding non-interference with predatory warfare and reprisals on "Rebel Sympathizers," to say nothing of the machinations of ambitious politicians, his soul was sorely vexed and tried. But with a fortitude as sublime as his moral courage he never hesitated nor halted in waging, with all the force and resources at his command, an uncompromising war on outlawry, no matter under what guise it masqueraded or under what banner it despoiled. He believed in liberty with law and government without unnecessary oppression.

Criticism was made by some of the action of the Convention in taking upon itself the exercise of the legislative function, in repealing some enactments of the Jackson Legislature, and in declaring some new statutory provisions. On its face the criticism seemed plausible, inasmuch as it could not be said that it was in the contemplation of the Jackson Legislature that the Convention would undo its legislation, and that

the power to legislate was not expressed, *ipsissime verbis*, in the call. The answer to which was and is that the grant of power to do certain things carries with it by implication all the reasonable agencies and instrumentalities for effectuating the exercise of it. So when the Convention was authorized by the creative act to adopt such measures as to it seemed demanded to vindicate the sovereignty of the State and afford protection to its people, the Convention when it met, clothed with the functions of the whole people under so broad provisions, was empowered to put out of the way obstructive acts and to substitute such as were deemed essential to accomplish the great objects it was commissioned to compass. This the Convention did, provisionally, until such time as the people could in the customary manner hold elections and elect a legislative body; which the Convention authorized and encouraged.

The State was without representation in the Senate at Washington. The two Senators theretofore elected by the Legislature, Truston Polk of St. Louis and Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, when the war began, seceded to take sides with the Confederacy. Governor Gamble designated for one of the vacancies Robert Wilson, of Andrew County, who was a member of the Convention, in whom he recognized such sterling qualities of mind and staunch patriotism as to make him a safe depository of such a trust in such a crisis. In the temporary absence from the State of Governor Gamble, Lieutenant Governor Hall designated John B. Henderson, another distinguished member of the Convention, to fill the other vacant seat in the Senate. His career in the Senate vindicated the wisdom of the appointment.

Oppressed with the heavy burdens of such an office, under such conditions, and weakened physically with increasing ill health, Governor Gamble tendered his resignation to the Convention in 1863, and begged that it be accepted. But so profoundly impressed was the Convention with the supreme importance to the welfare of the State that he should continue his great work, it implored him to withdraw the resignation.

I can yet see his palid face, furrowed with the ravages of care and disease, his hair like burnished silver, his eyes aglow with the fire of martyrdom, his voice so mellow, yet perfectly modulated, as he stood before the Convention and said: "Your will be done not mine." With the harness chafing and bearing hard upon his wasting frame he went on to his death, January 31st, 1864, lamented and honored at his funeral as I have never before or since witnessed in this State.

That the Convention which called into existence the Provisional Government committed mistakes, in the way of exercise of power in certain directions, in the light which time throws upon the actions of men, may be conceded. But, as was well said by a great jurist: "No argument can be drawn from the wisdom that comes after the fact." As applied to little profit as a future guide, as the occasion for its use will never arise again, we trust.

The fact, however, remains that the Convention kept the State firmly lashed to her constitutional moorings in the Union; that the Provisional Government sought, with large measure of success, to give the people civil in lieu of military government, the reign of law for lawlessness, order for disorder. It opened the courts of justice, and gave the people the process of law, in place of the Praetorian guard. It collected and husbanded the State and county revenues; and maintained the sovereignty of the State and its harmonious relation to the general civil government by providing for its representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

As the commander of one of the ten Regiments Governor Gamble induced President Lincoln to organize in the State, as arm of the Union army, I was frequently brought into official relations with him. I bear testimony that he was one of the purest minded, most unselfish and wisest of men, a sincere patriot and Christian gentleman.

There are now only four survivors of that memorable Convention: General John B. Henderson, Judge Elijah Norton, Colonel William T. Leper and myself.

When the reins of government fell from the nerveless hands of Governor Gamble they were taken up by Lieutenant Governor Hall, than whom no safer man lived. - He was a great lawyer, familiar with the conditions and needs of the State, and possessed the ability to provide for and the courage to demand them.

How blessed the Commonwealth, to have had the services of such Magistrates; and how the people should cherish their memory!

JNO. F. PHILIPS.

Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON IRVING.
TRAVELS IN MISSOURI AND THE SOUTH.

Notes by F. A. Sampson.

In "Astoria" Washington Irving describes the expedition by land from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast, undertaken by the American Fur Company of which John Jacob Astor was the leading member, which expedition was organized in St. Louis in 1810. Of St. Louis the author says: (1)

"It possessed a motely population, composed of the Creole descendants of the original French colonists; the keen traders from the Atlantic States; the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee; the Indian and half-breeds of the prairies; together with a singular aquatic race, that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers—the 'boatmen of the Mississippi'; who possessed habits, manners and almost a language, peculiarly their own, and strongly technical. They, at that time, were extremely numerous, and conducted the chief navigation and commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi, as the voyageurs did of the Canadian waters; but, like them, their consequence and characteristics are rapidly vanishing before the all-pervading intrusion of steamboats.

"The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered round them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians, and mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Indians. These they employed in their various expeditions by land and water. Various individuals of other countries had, of late years, pushed the trade further into the interior, to the upper waters of the Missouri, and had swelled the number of these hangers-on. Several of these traders had, two or three years

1. Astoria or anecdotes of an enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains. By Washington Irving. Chi. & N. Y. n. d., p. 106.

previously, formed themselves into a company, composed of twelve partners, with a capital of about forty thousand dollars, called the Missouri Fur Company; the object of which was, to establish posts along the upper part of the river, and monopolize the trade. The leading partner of this Company was Mr. Manual Lisa, a Spaniard by birth, and a man of bold and enterprising character, who had ascended the Missouri almost to its source, and made himself well acquainted and popular with several of its tribes. By his exertions, trading posts had been established, in 1808, in the Sioux country, and among the Aricara and Mandan tribes; and a principal one, under Mr. Henry, one of the partners, at the forks of the Missouri. This Company had in its employ about two hundred and fifty men, partly American hunters, and partly Creoles and Canadian voyageurs.

"All these circumstances combined to produce a population at St. Louis even more motley than that at Mackinaw. Here were to be seen, about the river banks, the hectoring, extravagant, bragging boatmen of the Mississippi, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian voyageurs. Vagrant Indians, of various tribes, loitered about the streets. Now and then a stark Kentucky hunter, in leather hunting-dress, with a rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic States; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard balls, showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place.

"Such was the St. Louis at the time of Mr. Hunt's arrival there, and the appearance of a new fur company, with ample funds at its command, produced a strong sensation among the Indian traders of the place, and awakened keen jealousy and opposition on the part of the Missouri Company. Mr. Hunt proceeded to strengthen himself against all competition. For

this purpose, he secured to the interests of the Association another of those enterprising men, who had been engaged in individual traffic with the tribes of the Missouri. This was a Mr. Joseph Miller, a gentleman well educated and well informed, and of a respectable family of Baltimore. He had been an officer in the army of the United States, but had resigned in disgust, on being refused a furlough, and had taken to trapping beaver and trading among the Indians. He was easily induced by Mr. Hunt to join as a partner, and was considered by him, on account of his education and acquirements, and his experience in Indian trade, a valuable addition to the Company. Other arrangements were made for a quick departure, and forming a winter camp as far up the river as they could go that fall.

“Accordingly, on the twenty-first of October he took his departure from St. Louis. His party was distributed in three boats. One was the barge which he had brought from Mackinaw; another was of a larger size, such as was formerly used in navigating the Mohawk river, and known by the generic name of the Schenectody barge; the other was a large keel boat, at that time the grand conveyance on the Mississippi.

“In this way they set out from St. Louis, in buoyant spirits, and soon arrived at the mouth of the Missouri. This vast river, three thousand miles in length, and which, with its tributary streams, drains such an immense extent of country, was as yet but casually and imperfectly navigated by the adventurous bark of the fur trader, a steamboat had never yet stemmed its turbulent current. Sails were but of casual assistance, for it required a strong wind to conquer the force of the stream. The main dependence was on bodily strength and manual dexterity. The boats, in general, had to be propelled by oars and setting poles, or drawn by the hand and grappling hooks from one root or overhanging tree to another; or towed by the long cordelle, or towing line, where the shores were sufficiently clear of woods and thickets to permit the men to pass along the banks.

"During this slow and tedious progress, the boat would be exposed to frequent danger from floating trees and great masses of driftwood, or to be impaled upon snags and sawyers; that is to say, sunken trees, presenting a jagged or pointed end above the surface of the water. As the channel of the river frequently shifted from side to side, according to the bends and sand banks, the boat had, in the same way, to advance in a zigzag course. Often a part of the crew would have to leap into the water at the shallows, and wade along with the towing line, while their companions on board toilfully assisted with oar and setting pole. Sometimes the boat would seem to be retained motionless, as if spell-bound, opposite some point round which the current set with violence, and where the utmost labor scarce effected any visible progress.

"On these occasions it was that the merits of the Canadian voyageurs came into full action. Patient of toil, not to be disheartened by impediments and disappointments, fertile in expedients, and versed in every mode of humoring and conquering the wayward current, they would ply every exertion, sometimes in the boat, sometimes on shore, sometimes in the water, however cold; always alert, always in good humor; and should they at any time flag or grow weary, one of their popular boat songs, chanted by a veteran oarsman, and responded to in chorus, acted as a never-failing restorative.

"By such assiduous and persevering labor they made their way about four hundred and fifty miles up the Missouri, by the 16th of November, to the mouth of the Nodowa (2) as this was a good hunting country, and as the season was rapidly advancing, they determined to establish their winter quarters at this place; and, in fact two days after they had come to a halt, the river closed just above their encampment."

Here the party was joined by Mr. Robert McLellan a man who had distinguished himself in the Indian wars under General Wayne; also by John Day, a Virginian, who had for some years been in the employ of western traders. The

2. This was the present Nodaway river. In Bradbury's work it is called Naduet.

country around the place of encampment abounded in deer and wild turkeys, and provisions were abundant. From this place Mr. Hunt returned to St. Louis, to obtain an interpreter, acquainted with the language of the Sioux, and also additional hunters. He started on foot January 11, 1810; at Fort Osage, one hundred and fifty miles below, he bought two horses, and with two men, proceeded to St. Louis, where he arrived January 20th. Of his work then the author says:

“The greatest difficulty was to procure the Sioux interpreter. There was but one man to be met with at St. Louis who was fitted for the purpose, but to secure him would require much management. The individual in question was a half-breed, named Pierre Dorion; and as he figures hereafter in this narrative, and is, withal, a striking specimen of the hybrid race on the frontier, we shall give a few particulars concerning him. Pierre was the son of Dorion, the French interpreter, who accompanied Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in their famous exploring expedition across the Rocky mountains, old Dorion was one of those French creoles, descendants of the ancient Canadian stock, who abound on the western frontier, and amalgamate or cohabit with the savages. He had sojourned among various tribes, and perhaps left progeny among them all; but his regular or habitual wife was a Sioux squaw. By her he had a hopeful brood of half-breed sons, of whom Pierre was one. The domestic affairs of old Dorion were conducted on the true Indian plan. Father and sons would occasionally get drunk together, and then the cabin was a scene of ruffian brawl and fighting, in the course of which the old Frenchman was apt to get soundly belabored by his mongrel offspring. In a furious scuffle of the kind, one of the sons got the old man upon the ground, and was on the point of scalping him. “Hold! my son,” cried the old fellow, in imploring accents, “you are too brave, too honorable to scalp your father!” This last appeal touched the French side of the half-breed’s heart so he suffered the old man to wear his scalp unharmed.

* * * *

"The moment it was discovered by Mr. Lisa that Pierre Dorion was in treaty with the new and rival association, he endeavored by threats as well as by promises, to prevent his engaging in their service. His promises might, perhaps, have prevailed; but his threats, which related to the whiskey debt, only served to drive Pierre into the opposite ranks. Still, he took advantage of this competition for his services to stand out Mr. Hunt on the most advantageous terms, and, after a negotiation of nearly two weeks, capitulated to serve in the expedition, as hunter and interpreter, at the rate of three hundred dollars a year, two hundred of which were to be paid in advance.

"When Mr. Hunt had got everything ready for leaving St. Louis new difficulties arose. * * * Even Pierre Dorion, at the last moment, refused to enter the boat until Mr. Hunt consented to take his squaw and two children on board also. * * *

"Among the various persons who were to proceed up the Missouri with Mr. Hunt, were two scientific gentlemen: one Mr. John Bradbury, (3) a man of mature age, but great enterprise and personal activity, who had been sent out by the Linnaean Society of Liverpool, to make a collection of American plants; the other, a Mr. Nuttall, likewise an Englishman, younger in years, who has since made himself known as the author of "Travels in Arkansas," and a work on the "Genera of American Plants." Mr. Hunt had offered them the protection and facilities of his party, in their scientific researches up the Missouri. As they were not ready to depart at the moment of embarkation, they put their trunks on board of the boat, but remained at St. Louis until the next day, for the arrival of the post intending to join the expedition at St. Charles, a short distance above the mouth of the Missouri.

3. Bradbury published an account of this expedition in "Travels in the Interior of America, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; including a description of Upper Louisiana, together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee, with the Illinois and western territories, and containing remarks and observations useful to persons emigrating to these countries. Liverpool; 1817."

“The same evening, however, they learned that a writ had been issued against Pierre Dorion for his whiskey debt, by Mr. Lisa, as agent of the Missouri Company, and that it was the intention to entrap the mongrel linguist on his arrival at St. Charles. Upon hearing this, Mr. Bradbury and Mr. Nuttall set off a little after midnight, by land, got ahead of the boat as it was ascending the Missouri, before its arrival at St. Charles, and gave Pierre Dorion warning of the legal toil prepared to ensnare him. The knowing Pierre immediately landed and took to the woods, followed by his squaw laden with their papooses, and a large bundle containing their most precious effects, promising to rejoin the party some distance above St. Charles. There seemed little dependence to be placed upon promises of a loose adventurer of the kind, who was at the very time playing an evasive game with his former employers; who had already received two-thirds of his year’s pay, and had his rifle on his shoulder, his family and worldly fortune at his heels, and the wild woods before him. There was no alternative, however, and it was hoped his pique against his old employers would render him faithful to his new ones.

“The party reached St. Charles in the afternoon, but the harpies of the law looked in vain for their expected prey. The boats resumed their course on the following morning, and had not proceeded far when Pierre Dorion made his appearance on shore. He was gladly taken on board, but he came without his squaw. They had quarrelled in the night; Pierre had administered the Indian discipline of the cudgel, whereupon she had taken to the woods, with their children and all their worldly goods. Pierre evidently was deeply grieved and disconcerted at the loss of his wife and his knapsack, wherefore Mr. Hunt dispatched one of the Canadian voyageurs in search of the fugitives; and the whole party, after proceeding a few miles further, encamped on an island to await his return. The Canadian rejoined the party, but without the squaw; and Pierre Dorion passed a solitary and anxious night, bitterly regretting his indiscretion in having exercised his conjugal authority so near home. Before daybreak, however, a well-

known voice reached his ears from the opposite shore. It was his repentant spouse, who had been wandering the woods all night in quest of the party, and had at length descried it by its fires. A boat was dispatched for her, the interesting family was once more united, and Mr. Hunt now flattered himself that his perplexities with Pierre Dorion were at an end.

* . * * *

"On the afternoon of the third day, January 17th, the boats touched at Charette, one of the old villages founded by the original French colonists. Here they met Daniel Boone, the renowned patriarch of Kentucky, who had kept in the advance of civilization, and on the borders of the wilderness, still leading a hunter's life, though now in his eighty-fifth year. He had but recently returned from a hunting and trapping expedition, and had brought nearly sixty beaver skins as trophies of his skill. The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb, and unflinching in spirit, and as he stood on the river bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, every probably felt a throb of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band. Boone flourished several years after this meeting, in a vigorous old age, the Nestor of hunters and backwoodsmen; and died, full of sylvan honor and renown, in 1818, in his ninety-second year. (4)

"The next morning early, as the party were yet encamped at the mouth of a small stream, they were visited by another of those heroes of the wilderness, one John Colter, who had accompanied Lewis and Clark in their memorable expedition. He had recently made one of those vast internal voyages so char-

4. There are conflicting statements about the birth and death of Daniel Boone. The Missouri volume of the U. S. Biographical Dictionary, Ellis' Life of Boone, Hill's Life of Boone, and Bryan's Life as published in the Missouri Historical Review all give the date of his death as September 26, 1820, and the above date, and that given in Flint's Life of Boone is not correct. Flint gives the date of his birth as 1736; the Ellis and Hill, Feb. 11, 1735, the U. S. Biog. Dictionary, Oct. 22, 1734, and Bryan August 22, 1834. The last we take to be the correct date.

acteristic of this fearless class of men, and of the immense regions over which they hold their lonely wanderings; having come from the head-waters of the Missouri to St. Louis in a small canoe.

* * * *

“Continuing their progress up the Missouri, the party encamped, on the evening of the 21st of March, in the neighborhood of a little frontier village of French creoles. Here Pierre Dorion met with some of his old comrades, with whom he had a long gossip, and returned to the camp with rumors of bloody feuds between the Osages and the Ioways, or Ayaways, Potowatomies, Sioux, and Sawkees. Blood had already been shed, and scalps been taken. A war party, three hundred strong, were prowling in the neighborhood, others might be met with higher up the river; it behooved the travellers, therefore, to be upon their guard against robbery or surprise, for an Indian war party on the march is prone to acts of outrage.

“In consequence of this report, which was subsequently confirmed by further intelligence, a guard was kept up at night around the encampment, and they all slept on their arms. As they were sixteen in number, and well supplied with weapons and ammunition, they trusted to be able to give any marauding party a warm reception. Nothing occurred, however, to molest them on their voyage, and on the 8th of April, they came in sight of Fort Osage. On their approach the flag was hoisted on the fort, and they saluted it by a discharge of firearms. Within a short distance of the fort was an Osage village, the inhabitants of which, men, women and children, thronged down to the water side to witness their landing. One of the first persons they met on the river bank was Mr. Crooks, who had been down in a boat, with nine men, from the winter encampment at Nodowa, to meet them.

“They remained at Ft. Osage a part of three days, during which they were hospitably entertained at the garrison by Lieutenant Brownson, who held a temporary command. They were regaled also with a war-feast at the village; the Osage warriors having returned from a successful forage against the

Ioways, in which they had taken seven scalps. These were paraded on poles about the village, followed by the warriors decked out in all their savage ornaments, and hideously painted as if for battle.

“By the Osage warriors, Mr. Hunt and his companions were again warned to be on their guard in ascending the river, as the Sioux tribe meant to lay in wait and attack them.

“On the 10th of April they again embarked, their party being now augmented to twenty-six, by the addition of Mr. Crooks and his boat’s crew. They had not proceeded far, however, when there was a great outcry from one of the boats; it was occasioned by a little domestic discipline in the Dorion family. The squaw of the worthy interpreter, it appeared, had been so delighted with the scalp-dance, and other festivities of the Osage village, that she had taken a strong inclination to remain there. This had been as strongly opposed by her liege lord, who had compelled her to embark. The good dame had remained sulky ever since, whereupon Pierre seeing no other mode of exorcising the evil spirit out of her, and being, perhaps, a little inspired by whiskey, had resorted to the Indian remedy of the cudgel, and, before his neighbors could interfere, had belabored her so soundly that there is no record of her having shown any refractory symptoms throughout the remainder of the expedition.

“For a week they continued their voyage, exposed to almost incessant rains. The bodies of drowned buffaloes floated past them in vast numbers; many had drifted upon the shore or against the upper ends of rafts and islands. These had attracted great flights of turkey-buzzards; some were banqueting on the carcasses, others were soaring far aloft in the sky, and others were perched on the trees, with their backs to the sun, and their wings stretched out to dry, like so many vessels in harbors, spreading their sails after a shower.

“The turkey-buzzard (vulture aura, or golden vulture), when on the wing, is one of the most specious and imposing of birds. Its flight in the upper regions of the air is really

sublime, extending its immense wings, and wheeling slowly and majestically to and fro seemingly without exerting a muscle or fluttering a feather, but moving by mere volition, and sailing on the bosom of the air as a ship upon the ocean. Usurping the empyreal realm of the eagle, he assumes for a time the post and dignity of that majestic bird, and often is mistaken for him by ignorant crawlers upon earth. It is only when he descends from the clouds to pounce upon carrion that he betrays his low propensities, and reveals his caitiff character. Near at hand he is a disgusting bird, ragged in plumage, base in aspect, and of loathsome odor.

“On the 17th of April Mr. Hunt arrived with his party at the station near the Nodowa River, where the main body had been quartered during the winter.

“The weather continued rainy and ungenial for some days after Mr. Hunt’s return to Nodowa; yet spring was rapidly advancing and vegetation was putting forth with all its early freshness and beauty. The snakes began to recover from their torpor and crawl forth into day, and the neighborhood of the wintering house seems to have been much infested with them. Mr. Bradbury, in the course of his botanical researches, found a surprising number in a half torpid state, under flat stones upon the banks which overhung the cantonment, and narrowly escaped being struck by a rattle-snake, which started at him from a cleft in the rock, but fortunately gave him warning by its rattle.

“The pigeons too were filling the woods in vast migratory flocks. It is almost incredible to describe the prodigious flights of these birds in the western wildernesses. They appear absolutely in clouds, and move with astonishing velocity, their wings making a whistling sound as they fly. The rapid evolutions of these flocks, wheeling and shifting suddenly as if with one mind and one impulse; the flashing changes of color they present, as their backs, their breasts, or the under part of their wings are turned to the spectator, are singularly pleasing. When they alight, if on the ground, they cover whole acres at a time; if upon trees, the branches often break be-

neath their weight. If suddenly startled while feeding in the midst of a forest, the noise they make in getting on the wing is like the roar of a cataract or the sound of distant thunder.

"A flight of this kind, like an Egyptian flight of locusts, devours everything that serves for its food as it passes along. So great were the numbers in the vicinity of the camp that Mr. Bradbury, in the course of a morning's excursion, shot nearly three hundred with a fowling-piece. He gives a curious, though apparently a faithful, account of the kind of discipline observed in these immense flocks, so that each may have a chance of picking up food. As the front ranks must meet with the greatest abundance, and the rear ranks must have scanty picking, the instant a rank finds itself the hindmost it rises in the air, flies over the whole flock, and takes its place in the advance. The next rank follows in its course, and thus the last is continually becoming first, and all by turns have a front place at the banquet.

"The rains having at length subsided, Mr. Hunt broke up the encampment and resumed his course up the Missouri.

"The party now consisted of nearly sixty persons; of whom five were partners; one, John Reed, was a clerk; forty were Canadian "voyageurs," of "engages," and there were several hunters. They embarked in four boats, one of which was of a large size, mounting a swivel and two howitzers. All were furnished with masts and sails, to be used when the wind was sufficiently favorable and strong to overpower the current of the river. Such was the case for the first four or five days, when they were wafted steadily up the stream by a strong southeaster.

"Their encampments at night were often pleasant and picturesque; on some beautiful bank beneath spreading trees, which afforded them shelter and fuel. The tents were pitched, the fires made and the meals prepared by the voyageurs, and many a story was told, and joke passed, and song sung, round the evening fire. All, however, were asleep at an early hour. Some under the tents, others wrapped in blankets before the

fire, or beneath the trees; and some few in the boats and canoes.

"On the 28th they breakfasted on one of the islands which lie at the mouth of the Nebraska or Platte river, the largest tributary of the Missouri, and about six hundred miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. * * * *

They were now beyond the limits of the present state of Missouri. and we leave them to pursue their course to the Pacific coast.

At a later date, Washington Irving made a trip through Missouri, and the **Missouri Intelligencer** and **Boon's Lick Advertiser** had the following notice of him: (5) "Washington Irving. This gentleman arrived in Columbia on Wednesday the 19th inst. and remained here until the next day, when he resumed his journey for the Osage country. From the notice in one of the St. Louis papers, announcing his arrival there. that he was on his way to the Upper Mississippi, we did not anticipate the honor of seeing him here. His destination, however, for the present at least, is different. He expressed the greatest surprise and admiration of what he had already seen of Missouri—having previously formed different views of the country. In his manners, Mr. Irving is unostentatious, affable and gentlemanly. He will no doubt acquire a valuable fund of materials in his progress, for interesting works or sketches, which, ere long, we may have the gratification of perusing."

The fullest account of this trip given by him is in a letter to a friend in Europe, which was published in the London Athenaeum, reprinted in the New York Commercial Advertiser, and copied in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, and from the files of this paper in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri we copy the letter, (6) which was not included in the "Life and Letters of Washington Irving by his nephew Pierre M. Irving:"

"Washington City, Dec. 18, 1832. I arrived here a few days since, from a tour of several months, which carried me

5. Sept. 29, 1832.

6. May 11, 1833.

far to the west, beyond the bounds of civilization.

"After I wrote to you in August, from I think Niagara, I proceeded with my agreeable fellow travelers, Mr. L. and Mr. P. (7) to Buffalo, and we embarked at Black Rock on Lake Erie. On board of the steamboat was Mr. E. one of the commissioners appointed by the government to superintend the settlement of the emigrant Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi. He was on his way to the place of rendezvous, and on his invitation, we agreed to accompany him in his expedition. The offer was too tempting to be resisted. I should have an opportunity of seeing the remnants of those great Indian tribes which are now about to disappear as independent nations, or to be amalgamated under some new form of government. I should see those fine countries of the "far west," while still in a state of pristine wilderness, and behold herds of buffaloes scouring their native prairies, before they are driven beyond the reach of a civilized tourist.

"We, accordingly, traversed the centre of Ohio, and embarked in a steamboat at Cincinnati for Louisville, in Kentucky. Thence we descended the Ohio river in another steamboat, and ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis. Our voyage was prolonged by repeatedly running aground, in consequence of the lowness of the waters, and, on the first occasion we were nearly wrecked and sent to the bottom, by encountering another steamboat coming with all the impetus of a high pressure engine, and a rapid current. Fortunately, we had time to sheer a little so as to receive the blow obliquely, which carried away part of a wheel, and all the upper works on one side of the boat.

"From St. Louis I went to Fort Jefferson, about nine miles distant, to see Black Hawk, the Indian warrior, and his fellow prisoners—a forlorn crew, emaciated and dejected—the redoubtable chieftain himself, a meagre old man upwards of seventy. He has, however, a fine head, a Roman style of face, and a prepossessing countenance.

7. Mr. Chas. Joseph Latrobe and Count de Pourtales, the former of whom published "The Rambler in North America," 2 vols., London, 1832, in which he gives a full account of this trip.

“At St. Louis we bought horses for ourselves, and a covered wagon for our baggage, tents, provisions, etc., and traveled by land to Independence, a small frontier hamlet of log houses, situated between two and three hundred miles up the Missouri, on the utmost verge of civilization. * * * *

“From Independence, we struck across the Indian country, along the line of Indian missions; and arrived, on the 8th of October, after ten or eleven days’ tramp, at Fort Gibson, a frontier town in Arkansas. Our journey lay almost entirely through vast prairies, or open grassy plains, diversified occasionally by beautiful groves, and deep fertile bottoms along the streams of water. We lived in frontier and almost Indian style, camping out at nights, except when we stopped at the missionaries, scattered here and there in this vast wilderness. The weather was serene, and we encountered but one rainy night and one thunder storm, and I found sleeping in a tent a very sweet and healthy repose. It was now upwards of three weeks since I had left St. Louis, and taken to traveling on horseback, and it agreed with me admirably.

“On arriving at Fort Gibson, we found that a mounted body of rangers nearly a hundred, had set off two days before to make a wide tour to the west and south through the wild hunting countries; by way of protecting the friendly Indians, who had gone to the buffalo hunting, and to overawe the Pawnees, who are the wandering Arabs of the west and are continually on the maraud. We determined to proceed on the track of this party, escorted by a dozen or fourteen horsemen (that we might have nothing to apprehend from any straggling party of Pawnees) and with three or four Indians as guides and interpreters, including a captive Pawnee woman. A couple of Creek Indians were despatched by the commander of the fort to overtake the party of rangers, and order them to to await our coming up with them. We were now to travel in still simple and rougher style, taking as little baggage as possible, and depending on our hunting for supplies; but were to go through a country abounding with game. The finest sport we had hitherto had was an incidental wolf hunt, as

we were traversing a prairie, which was very animated and picturesque. I felt now completely launched in a savage life, and extremely excited and interested by this wild country, and the wild scenes and people by which I was surrounded. Our rangers were expert hunters, being mostly from Illinois, Tennessee, etc.

"We overtook the exploring party of mounted rangers in the course of three days, on the banks of the Arkansas; and the whole troop crossed that river on the 16th of October, some on rafts some fording. Our own immediate party had a couple of half breed Indians as servants, who understood the Indian customs. They constructed a kind of boat or raft, out of buffalo skin, on which Mr. E. and myself crossed the river and its branches, at several times, on the top of about a hundred weight of baggage—an odd mode of crossing a river a quarter of a mile wide.

"We now led a true hunting life, sleeping in the open air and living upon the produce of the chase, for we were three hundred miles beyond human habitation, and part of the time in a country hitherto unexplored.

"We got to the region of the buffaloes and wild horses; killed some of the former, and caught some of the latter. We were, moreover, on the hunting grounds of the Pawnees, the terror of that frontier; a race who scour the prairies on fleet horses, and are like the Tartars, or roving Arabs.

"We had to set guards round our camp, and tie up our horses for fear of surprise; but, though we had an occasional alarm, we passed through the country without seeing a single Pawnee. I brought off, however, the tongue of a buffalo, of my own shooting, as a trophy of my hunting, and am determined to rest my renown as a hunter upon that exploit, and never to descend to smaller game.

"We returned to Fort Gibson after a campaign of about thirty days, well seasoned by hunter's fare and hunter's life.

"From Ft. Gibson I was about five days descending the Arkansas to the Mississippi, in a steamboat a distance of

several hundred miles. I then continued down the latter river to New Orleans, where I passed some days very pleasantly.

“New Orleans is one of the most motley and amusing places in the United States; a mixture of America and Europe. The French part of the city is a counterpart of some French provincial town, and the levee or esplanade, along the river, presents the most whimsical groups of people, of all nations, casts and colors, French, Spanish, Indians, half-breeds, creoles, mulattoes, Kentuckians, etc. I passed two days with M. on his sugar plantation, just at the time when they were making sugar.

“From New Orleans I set off, on the mail stage, through Mobile, and proceeded on, through Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia, to Washington, a long and rather dreary journey, traveling frequently day and night, and much of the road through pine forests, in the winter season.

“At Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, I passed a day most cordially with our friend P. I dined also with G. H. (8) whom I had known in New York, when a young man, and who is a perfect gentleman, though somewhat a Hotspur in politics. It is really lamentable to see so fine a set of gallant fellows, as the leading Nullifiers are, so sadly in the wrong. They have just cause of complaint, and have been hardly dealt with, but they are putting themselves completely in the wrong by the mode they take to redress themselves, as a Committee of Congress is now occupied in the formation of a bill for the reduction of the tariff. I hope that such a bill may be devised and carried as will satisfy the moderate part of the Nullifiers. But I grieve to see so many elements of national prejudice, hostility and selfishness, stirring and fermenting, with activity and acrimony.

“I intended stopping but a few days at Washington, and then proceeding to New York; but I doubt now whether I shall not linger for some time. I am very pleasantly situated; I have a sunny, cheery, cosey little apartment in the immedi-

8. Governor Hamilton, probably.

ate neighborhood of Mr. ———, and take my meals at his house, and in fact make it my home. I have thus the advantage of a family circle, and that a delightful one, and the precious comfort of a little batchelor retreat and sanctum sanctorum, where I can be as lonely and independent as I please. Washington is an interesting place to see public characters, and this is an interesting crisis. Everybody, too, is so much occupied with his own or the public business, that, now that I have got through the formal visits, I can have the time pretty much to myself.

“As to the kind of pledge I gave, you are correct in your opinion. It was given in the warmth and excitement of the moment; was from my lips before I was aware of its unqualified extent, and is to be taken *cum grane salis*. It is absolutely my intention to make our country my home for the residue of my life, and the more I see of it, the more I am convinced that I can live here with more enjoyment than in Europe, but I shall certainly pay my friends in France and relations in England, a visit, in the course of another year or two, to pass joyously a season in holiday style.

“You have no idea how agreeably one can live in this country, especially one, like myself, who can change place at will, and meet friends at every turn. Politics also, which makes such a figure in the newspapers, do not enter so much as you imagine into private life—and I think there is a better one respecting them generally, in society, than there was formerly; in fact, the mode of living, the sources of quiet enjoyment, and the sphere of friendly and domestic pleasures, are improved and multiplied to a degree that would delightfully surprise you.”

In the “Life and Letters of Washington Irving” there are three letters written to his sister, Mrs. Paris, from St. Louis, from Independence, and from Ft. Gibson, Ark. In the first one in addition to what he told of Black Hawk, in the letter quoted, he says “He has a small, well-formed head, with an aquiline nose, a good expression of eye; and a physician present, who is given to craniology, perceived the organ

of benevolence strongly developed, though I believe the old chieftain stands accused of many cruelties. His brother-in-law, the prophet, is a strong, stout man and much younger. He is considered the most culpable agent in fomenting the late disturbance; though I find it extremely difficult, even when so near the seat of action, to get at the right story of these feuds between the white and the red men, and my sympathies go strongly with the latter.” (9)

In the second letter he wrote: “We arrived at this place day before yesterday, after nine days’ travel on horseback from St. Louis. Our journey has been a very interesting one, leading us across fine prairies and through noble forests, dotted here and there by farms and log houses, at which we found rough but wholesome and abundant fare, and very civil treatment. Many parts of these prairies of the Missouri are extremely beautiful, resembling cultivated countries, embellished with parks and groves, rather than the savage rudeness of the wilderness.

“Yesterday I was out on a deer-hunt, in the vicinity of this place, which led me through some scenery that only wanted a castle, or a gentleman’s seat here and there interspersed, to have equalled some of the most celebrated park scenery of England.

“The fertility of all this western country is truly astonishing. The soil is like that of a garden, and the luxuriance and beauty of the forests exceed any that I have seen. We have gradually been advancing, however, toward rougher life, and we are now at a little straggling frontier village, that has only been five years in existence. From hence, in the course of a day or two, we take our departure southwardly, and shall bid adieu to civilization, and camp at night in our tents.” (10)

In the third letter there is nothing in addition to the letter quoted.

9. Life and letters of Washington Irving, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving. N. Y., 1895. Vol. II, p. 264.

10. Ibid, p. 266.

OLD NEWSPAPER FILES.

List of Newspaper files in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, Missouri. The list does not include the six hundred Missouri periodicals which have been regularly sent to the Society by the publishers. When known the date of beginning and ending of the newspaper is given, followed in other lines by the dates, between which the files of the Society cover. Donations are solicited of any periodicals not here given, and also of those for periods not covered by this list. For the periods given some of the files are not entirely complete, and donations of missing numbers is desired. The list does not include the College and School periodicals, nor the medical, religious, literary and other periodicals of magazine size:

Baltimore, Md.

Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser. 1791—
July 1, 1796—Dec. 13, 1796.

Boonville.

Boonville Advance, 1902-1904.

Jan. 1, 1903—April 7, 1904.

Boonville Advertiser, 1861.

Oct. 24, 1873—Dec. 27, 1878—

Sept. 19, 1884—Sept. 6, 1889.

Boonville Daily Advertiser, 1875—1877 and 1888.

Oct. 25, 1875—Oct. 24, 1877.

Sept. 12-15, 1888.

Boonville Observer, 1839—

Mch. 13, 1844—Jan. 12, 1848.

Mch. 25, 1854—Mch. 18, 1856.

Central Missourier, 1874-1907.

Oct. 22, 1874—Dec. 26, 1907.

Cooper County Democrat, 1876—

June 30, 1893, name then changed to

Missouri Democrat

July 7, 1893—Nov. 2, 1894.

Name then changed to

The Boonville, Missouri, Democrat.

Nov. 9, 1894—Oct. 16, 1896.

Name then changed to

The Missouri Democrat.

Oct. 23, 1896—July 1, 1898.

Missouri Register, 1839—

May 21, 1840—July 19, 1845.

Carrollton, Carroll County.

The Carrollton Journal, 1855—

Nov. 16, 1877—Nov. 14, 1879.

Clarksville.

The Clarksville Sentinel.

July 4, 1867—Sept. 30, 1869.

Columbia, Boone County.

The Columbia Patriot, 1835-1842.

Dec. 12, 1835.

Mch. 6, 1841-Dec. 23, 1842.

Columbia Missouri Herald, 1868-date.

April 11, 1878-date.

Missouri Statesman, 1843-date.

Jan. 6, 1843-date.

Daily Missouri Statesman, 1879.

Aug. 6- Dec. 13, 1879.

The M. S. U. Independent, 1894-date.

Mch. 3, 1894-date.

Edina, Knox County.

The Edina National, 1879—

Nov. 6, 1879-May 12, 1880.

Knox County Democrat, 1870-1905.

Jan. 17, 1874-Mch. 18, 1886.

Dec. 7, 1893-Feb. 1, 1894.

Aug. 9, 1894-Dec. 27, 1894.

Jan. 9, 1896-Aug. 17, 1905.

Name then changed to

The Edina Democrat, 1905-date.

Aug. 25, 1905-date.

The Knox County Register, 1897—

July 25, 1901-Dec. 25, 1902.

Jan. 7, 1904-Dec. 22, 1904.

The Sentinel, 1867—

Feb. 26, 1874-Mch. 1, 1883.

Pell Mell Greenbacker, 1881—

Vol. 1, 3 numbers.

Franklin.

Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, 1819-1835.

Apr. 23, 1819-Dec. 5, 1835.

The place of publication was moved from Franklin to Fayette and from that place to Columbia.

Glenwood, Schuyler County.

Glenwood Criterion, 1870-date.

June 8, 1870-Dec. 18, 1873.

Jan. 4, 1877-May 29, 1884.

Dec. 1902-March, 1908.

Nov. 1908-March, 1910.

The National Issue, 1879.

Sept 13-Oct. 25, 1879.

(8 numbers, all issued.)

Hillsboro, Jefferson County.

Jefferson Democrat, 1865-date.

Jan. 6, 1871-date.

Jefferson City, Cole County.

Jefferson Enquirer, 1838-1841.

Name then changed to

Jefferson Inquirer, 1841-1861.

April 1841-Dec. 14, 1854.

Jan. 19, 1856-Dec. 26, 1857.

Jefferson Examiner, 1852-1862.

Sept. 14, 1852-Sept. 6, 1853.

April 24, 1858-Oct. 1, 1859.

Jeffersonian Republican, 1827-1844.

Feb. 6, 1841-Mch. 4, 1843.

May 27, 1843-Aug. 10, 1844.

The Metropolitan, 1846-1852.

Oct. 6, 1846-Sept. 26, 1848.

Oct. 23, 1849-Sept. 10, 1850.

The State Journal, 1872-1887.

Dec. 27, 1872-Dec. 31, 1880.

Daily State Journal, 1873-1887.

Sept. 9, 1873-Mch. 6, 1874.

Sept. 9, 1874-June 29, 1879.

Jan. 1, 1880-Jan. 30, 1880.

Oct. 8, 1880-June 29, 1881.

Jan. 3, 1882-June 29, 1882.

Jan. 2, 1883-June 30, 1884.

The Peoples' Tribune, 1865-1899.

Oct. 4, 1865-Dec. 26, 1883.

Name then changed to

Jefferson City Tribune.

Jan. 3, 1884-Jan. 4, 1899.

Name then changed to

Missouri State Tribune.

Jan. 11-Dec. 28, 1899.

Daily Jefferson Inquirer.

May 27, 1856-Aug. 28, 1856.

Jan. 2, 1857-June 17, 1857.

Jan. 1, 1859-Mch. 14, 1859.

Jan. 1, 1861-Jan. 28, 1861.

Jefferson City Tribune.

Jan. 1, 1905-Feb. 7, 1910.

Name then changed to

Daily Democrat-Tribune.

Feb. 8, 1910-date.

Keytesville, Chariton County.

Keytesville Herald, 1872-1878.

April 13, 1872-May 15, 1878.

Name then changed to

Chariton Courier, 1878-date.

June 7, 1878-Dec. 28, 1883.

Jan. 5, 1888-Dec. 9, 1892.

Jan. 6, 1893-Dec. 9, 1898.

July 26, 1901-date.

Lancaster, Schuyler County.

Lancaster Excelsior, 1866-date.

Mar. 15, 1866-Sept. 23, 1871.

May 2, 1902-date.

Memphis, Scotland County.

Memphis Conservative, Scotland County News, Star, National, Farmers' Union, Herald, Register and Peoples Messenger, to be bound in fifteen volumes.

Montgomery City.

Montgomery Standard, 1868-date.

Jan. 2, 1880-date.

Osceola, St. Clair County.

The Osceola Democrat, 1860-1861.

June 2-July 12, 1860.

Name changed to

The Osage Valley Star.

Nov. 8, 1860-Feb. 28, 1861.

New York, N. Y.

The Anglo-American, 1839—

Oct. 24, 1846-June 5, 1847.

National Anti-Slavery Standard, 1839—

Apr. 13, 1848-Dec. 24, 1859.

Jan. 28, 1860-Dec. 13, 1862.

Jan. 17, 1863-Dec. 16, 1865.

Platte City, Platte County.

Platte County Argus, 1883-date.

Oct. 28, 1897-date.

The Landmark, 1865-date.

March 16, 1898-Sept. 14, 1900.

Jan. 1, 1904-Jan. 5, 1906.

Parkville, Platte County.

Parkville Independent, 1884—

Dec. 16, 1897-July 6, 1899.

The Platte County Gazette, 1884—

July 13, 1899-Dec. 27, 1900.

Ravenna, Ohio.

The Western Courier, 1824—

May 12, 1827-May 3, 1828.

Name changed to

The Western Courier and Portage County Democrat.

May 5, 1836-Jan. 5, 1837.

Name then changed to

Western Courier.

Jan. 12, 1837-Apr. 27, 1837.

Richmond, Ray County.

Richmond Weekly Mirror, 1853-1858.

Feb. 18, 1853-April 21, 1855.

Sept. 11, 1857-Oct. 16, 1858.

Name then changed to

The North-West Conservator, 1859-1863.

April 5, 1861-July 7, 1864.

May 13, 1865-Dec. 22, 1866.

Richmond Weekly Mirror, 1853-date.

Feb. 18, 1853-Oct. 16, 1858.

Name changed to

The North-West Conservator.

April 5, 1861-Apr. 23, 1863.

Name changed to

The Conservator.

April 30, 1863-July 7, 1864.

Name changed to

North-West Conservator.

May 13, 1865-March 3, 1866.

Name changed to

The Conservator.

March 24, 1866-Dec. 22, 1866.

Name changed to

Richmond Conservator.

Nov. 28, 1898-date.

Rockport.

Atchison County Journal, 1862-date.

Aug. 30, 1879-Aug. 18, 1892.

Jan. 5, 1893-date.

The Atchison County Mail, 1877-date.

Oct. 18, 1883-Oct. 16, 1884.

July 25, 1885-Dec. 23, 1887.

Jan. 4, 1889-Dec. 5, 1890.

Jan. 1, 1903-date.

The Missouri Agitator, 1884-1888.

Dec. 24, 1884-July 26, 1888.

Name then changed to

The Rock Port Democrat.

Aug. 2, 1888-Dec. 29, 1888.

Atchison Democrat, 1875—

Aug. 14, 1879-June 30, 1881.

The Sun, 1876—

Jan. 12-Dec. 27, 1882.

St. Louis.

Industrial Advocate, 1866—

Aug. 4, 1866-Feb. 9, 1867.

The St. Louis Daily Times, 1866—

Jan. 1, 1876-Sept. 12, 1877.

Jan. 1-Nov. 15, 1878.

Name then changed to

St. Louis Times-Journal.

Nov. 16-Dec. 31, 1878.

Home Journal and Commercial Gazette, 1865—

Aug. 2, 1872-Oct. 25, 1873.

Name then changed to

Saint Louis Commercial Gazette.

Nov. 1, 1873-Dec. 27, 1883.

St. Louis Miller.

Dec. 6, 1878 to Dec. 22, 1883.

Salem, Dent County.

The Salem Monitor, 1867-date.

May 4, 1872-date.

Sedalia, Pettis County.

Central Missouri Sentinel.

1886-1889.

Sedalia Morning Gazette, 1888—

Dec. 16, 1888-June 1895.

Except Apr-June, 1894.

Sedalia Times.

1869-1880.

Daily Times.

Nov.-Dec. 1872.

April, 1873.

Sedalia Bazoo.

April 1, 1891-June, 1893.

Sedalia Daily Democrat.

Dec. 19, 1871—Oct. 31, 1872.

Jan. 1, 1887-June 30, 1887.

April 1, 1888-June 30, 1888.

Dec. 17, 1891-Aug. 1893.

May, 1898-Dec. 1900.

Weekly Press.

Aug. 30-Oct. 9, 1879.

Pettis County Review.

July 6-Oct. 19, 1872.

Daily Republican.

Oct. 12, 1870—

A collection of 16 other ephemeral publications issued at

Sedalia.

Tarkio, Atchison County.

Atchison County World, 1888—

Jan. 1-July 16, 1903.

The Tarkio Avalanche, 1884-date.

Aug. 15, 1885-Dec. 31, 1902.

Oct. 18, 1907-date.

Troy, Lincoln County.

The Lincoln County Herald, 1865—

Dec. 28, 1866-June 4, 1873.

Name changed to

- The Troy Herald.
June 18, 1873-Oct. 30, 1878.
- Union, Franklin County.
Franklin County Record, 1874-1891.
Sept. 3, 1874-Sept. 8, 1887.
The Tribune, 1887-date.
June 17, 1887-Dec. 5, 1890.
Name then changed to
Tribune-Republican.
Dec. 12, 1890-Dec. 11, 1896.
Name changed to
Franklin County Tribune.
Dec. 18, 1896-date.
- Warrensburg, Johnson County.
The Warrensburg Journal, 1865-1876.
June 13, 1874-Oct. 20, 1876.
Johnson Weekly Democrat, 1871-1876.
Sept. 23, 1871-Dec. 18, 1874.
Name then changed to
The Warrensburg Democrat.
Dec. 25, 1874-Apr. 14, 1876.
The Journal-Democrat, 1876-date.
Oct. 27, 1876-Dec. 29, 1882.
Jan. 1, 1892-Nov. 11, 1892.
Jan. 5, 1894-Dec. 30, 1898.
Jan. 2, 1903-date.
- Weston, Platte County.
The Weston Chronicle, 1872—
Jan. 7, 1898-Dec. 28, 1900.
The Weston World, 1897—
Nov. 25, 1898-Aug. 9, 1900.
Name then changed to
Platte County World.
Aug. 16, 1900-Nov. 14, 1901.
- Washington, D. C.
The Columbian Star, 1821—
Feb. 10, 1827-Nov. 29, 1828.

Missouri Editorial Association Meeting and Excursion, 1882. A bound volume containing copies of 86 Missouri newspapers with accounts of above.

The World's Newspapers. 11 volumes containing 447 representative journals of all countries and languages. furnished by U. S. Consuls to Walter Williams in 1894.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

First Paper.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City, by order of the General Assembly of Missouri:

Sacred
to the memory of
Hardy Allard
late Representative from
Wayne County, Missouri
who was born
on the 22nd Nov. 1792
and died
on the 20th Jan. 1837
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Sacred
to the memory of
Yelverton O. Bannon
late Representative from
Madison County, Missouri
who was born in
Fauquier County, Va.

on the 26th Feb. 1794

and died

on the 31st Dec. 1831

Erected by an act of the General Assembly.

Sacred

to the memory of

Theophilus Bass,

late Representative from

Taney County, Missouri

who was born in

Columbia, Murray County, Tenn.

on the 2nd Feb. 1811

and died

on the 11th March, 1849

Erected by an act of the General Assembly.

Sacred

to the memory of

Tyrrel P. Bruton

late Representative from

Douglass Co., Mo.

Was born in Tenn.

On the 30 of Apr. 1828

Died

On the 29, of Dec. 1865

Erected by an Act of the General Assembly

In

Memory of

Peter G. Glover

Born

in

Buckingham Co. Va.

Jan. 14, 1792

Died

In Osage Co. Mo.

Oct. 27, 1851

and lies buried here
He emigrated to Kentucky
in early life
thence to Missouri
where he filled the
important Public Offices of
Justice of the County Court
Representative from Callaway
Senator from Cole
Secretary of State
Auditor of Public Accounts
Superintendent of Common Schools
and Treasurer of the State
to the satisfaction of
the People.

as a father, husband
citizen and friend
he was without reproach.

Martha
Wife of
Peter G. Glover
Born
in Buckingham Co. Va
Oct. 9, 1793
Died
Jan. 14, 1858

George W. Hampton
late Representative from
Barry County, Missouri
who was born in
Washington County, Va.
on the 18th of Jan. 1814,
and died
on the 22nd of Jan. 1860

He was a member of the Union Baptist Church
and lived the life of a sincere and devoted Christian
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Robert Hicks
late Representative of
Douglass and Ozark
Counties
Died
Feb. 22, 1863
Aged 58 years
Erected by an act of the General Assembly of Missouri

Sacred
To the memory of
David Rice Holt, M. D.
late Representative from
Platte County, Missouri
who was born in
Green County, Tenn.
on the 8th of March, 1803
and Died
on the 7th of Dec. 1840
Erected by an act of the
General Assembly

Hon. Thomas J. Howell
Born in Smith Co. Tenn.
September 22, 1808
Died
at the City of Jefferson
March 7, 1875
Represented Oregon Co. in the 26th & 28th
General Assembly of Missouri.
Erected under an act of the General
Assembly, Approved April 30, 1879

John Hunt
late Representative from
Polk County, Missouri
who was born in
Sullivan County, Tenn.

on the 21st of March 1780
and died
on the 27th of Feb. 1847.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

James R. McDearmon
late auditor of
Public accounts of Missouri
He was born in Prince Edward Co.
Va. on the 31st of August 1805
emigrated to Missouri in 1831
was appointed Auditor of the
Public Accounts in 1846
and died in office, having
filled it with honor to the
State and great credit to
himself on the 20th of March
1848; aged 43 years 6 mo.
20 days.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

John McHenry
late Representative from
Bates County, Missouri;
Who was born in
Montgomery County, Ky.
on the 1st May, 1775
and died
on the 8th Jan. 1849
He was a soldier of the late
war with Great Britain and
served in several sessions of
the Legislature of Missouri.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

John F. McKernan
born
June 15, 1827

died
Jan'y 4, 1873
Represented Cole Co. Mo
in the 25th General Assembly

Sacred
To the memory of
Wm. J. McMurtry
late Representative from
Carroll County
who was born in Moad County
Kentucky
on the 26th July 1826
and Died
February 25, 1855
Erected by provision of an
act of the General
Assembly

John Sappington Marmaduke
Born in Saline Co. Mo. March 14, 1833
Yale College three years
Harvard College one year
Graduated from West Point Military Academy
Lieutenant in the United States Army
Captain and Colonel Mo. State Guard
Brigadier General and Major General
Confederate States Army
Secretary State Board of Agriculture
Railroad Commissioner of Mo.,
and died while Governor of Missouri
December 28, 1887
He was fearless and incorruptible

Sacred
to the memory of
M. C. Martin
late Representative from

Ozark Co., Mo.
 Born in Ky.
 and Died
 On the 15th of Feb. 1868
 Aged 55 yrs
 Erected by an Act of the General Assembly

Erected
 by the State of
 Missouri
 in Honor of
 Wm. G. Minor
 Secretary
 of the Senate
 Born
 in Virginia
 Feb 1, 1806
 Died
 Feb. 20, 1851
 Aged 45

Wm. G. Minor
 In 1842
 a member of the
 Gen Assembly.
 In 1848
 Adjutant General
 of the State
 In 1851
 Secretary of the
 Senate

Sacred
 to the memory of
 John F. Powers
 late Representative from
 Linn Co. Mo.
 Was born in Trumbull Co. Ohio

On the 28th of Oct. 1811

Died

On the 20th of Feb. 1865

Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Alexander Reid

late Representative from

Lincoln County

who was born in Kentucky

April 6, 1797

and died

January 8 1851

This pious man was a worthy elder

in the A. R. Pres. Church

Erected by an act of the General

Assembly of Missouri.

Erected

by the State of Missouri

To the memory of

Gov. Thomas Reynolds

Who died Feb. 9, 1844,

Aged 48 years

He was born in Bracken County

Kentucky, March 12, 1796

in early life he became a citizen of

the State of Illinois,

and there filled the several offices

of Clerk of the House of Representatives

Attorney General

Speaker of the House of Representatives

and Chief Justice

of the Supreme Court

In 1829

he removed to the State of Missouri

and was successively Speaker

of the House of Representatives

Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit

and Died
 Governor of the State
 His life was one of honor, virtue and
 patriotism,
 and in every situation in which he
 was placed he discharged his duty
 faithfully

Wm. A. Robards
 Late
 Attorney General
 of the State of Missouri
 Born in Ky.
 May 3, 1817
 Died
 Sept. 3, 1851
 Erected
 by the State of Mo.
 Of which he was a worthy citizen
 and an able and faithful officer
 having filled several offices
 of public trust

SCOTT
 Erected by the State of Missouri
 through its forty third General
 Assembly and the Missouri State
 Bar Association to the Memory of
 William Scott
 Born in Warrenton, Virginia
 June 7, 1804
 Died in Cole County, Missouri
 May 18, 1862
 He was judge of the 9th judicial
 Circuit from 1835 to 1841
 and judge of the Supreme Court
 of Missouri from 1841 to 1862
 This monument is a supplement to the more

enduring one which he builded for himself
by his lucid and just decisions.

Aikman Welch
Born
in Warren Co. Mo.
May 25, 1827.
Served four years in the
Mo. Legislature,
appointed Attorney
General in 1861
Was Vice President of the
State Convention of 1862
Died in Office
July 28, 1864
A Patriot and a Christian

E. W. Wells
Born
Nov. 29, 1795
Died
Sept. 22, 1861
He was appointed
Judge of U. S. District
Court of Mo. by
Gen. Jackson 1836
Which Office he
held until his death
He was appointed
Attorney Gen. for
the State of Mo
Jan. 21. 1826
Which Office he
held until
Sept. 12, 1836

The two following are from the City Cemetery, Jefferson City:

Sacred to
the memory of
Elias Barcroft
Who Died
August 26, 1851
Aged
73 years

The deceased was a member
of the Senate of Missouri in
1821 & 1822 and was Auditor
of Public Accounts for the
same State from 1824 to 1833

John Walker
late State Treasurer
Aged 65 years 7 mos
11 days

He was born in Brunswick County Va. Oct 17
1772. Emigrated to Kentucky in 1780 and from
thence to Missouri in 1818. Was elected to the
Senate from Howard County in 1828 and at
the session of 1832 & 33 was elected

State Treasurer

Which office he faithfully and creditably
filled until his death which occurred

May 26, 1838

Erected by an Act of the General Assembly of Missouri

BOOK NOTICES.

WITH PORTER IN NORTH MISSOURI.

By Joseph A. Mudd, M. D., Washington, D. C. The
National Publishing Company, 1909.

The writer of this book was a Confederate soldier. He writes therefore from the Confederate standpoint, but always with a conscientious effort to be fair to the other side. He works in a fresh field. So far as the reviewer knows no one has undertaken anything on the same scale on the subject he has dealt with.

The efforts of the Southern sympathizer to take the State of Missouri out of the Union in 1861 and the winter of 1861-62 proved futile. The culminating moment of that failure came at the battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., in March, 1862. But relying on the hope that they would yet be successful the Confederate generals planned a recruiting system throughout Missouri which would bring to their depleted army in Arkansas large reinforcements and enable them to move back into the State and accomplish what had been undertaken but as yet without success.

Among those commissioned to do this recruiting was Joseph Chrisman Porter of Lewis County. He returned from Pea Ridge by April, and very shortly thereafter began his task. Dr. Mudd began his service as a soldier with Porter at this time, and remained with him until the battle of Moore's Mill, which occurred on July 28, 1862. He therefore tells the story of Porter's movements from Memphis in Scotland County to Moore's Mill in Callaway County very largely from his own personal recollections. In this part of his book

he is at his best. But after Moore's Mill, which proved disastrous to Porter, Dr. Mudd withdrew from the regiment and went to Maryland, where he completed his medical course and ultimately became a surgeon in the Confederate army in Virginia. He therefore tells the rest of the story of Porter's career from the official records printed by the Government, and from the recollections of men on both sides. This part of the work shows extensive investigation, but it is disappointing in that it is not constructive in its treatment. For example the chapter on the battle of Kirksville is composed of reminiscences of men on both sides, strung along one after the other, some of which contradict each other very radically, and of Colonel McNeil's official report. The account of the Palmyra affair, the other critical moment in Porter's career in North Missouri, is treated in very much the same way.

Notwithstanding this criticism, Dr. Mudd has rendered a valuable service to the history of the war in Missouri by his extensive efforts at collecting data and putting them in accessible form. The reviewer wishes to acknowledge his personal indebtedness to Dr. Mudd for this work, as it better enabled him to prepare an article upon a certain subject which he had already begun before he found this book.

Anecdote finds a large part in the book. Conversations between men and lengthy statements approaching the typical military harangues are also included. While we must not take these as having the authenticity of shorthand reports, we are able to catch from them the point of view of the men who were in this mighty struggle. Moreover they give a certain vivacity to the story that is not without its value and desirability.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

St. Louis the Fourth City, 1764-1909. By **Walter B. Stevens.** St. Louis-Chicago, S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1909.

In many respects this is the best history that has been published. The men and the women who made St. Louis the "Fourth City," are noticed and commemorated for their work

in that making. These men and women were of three governing nationalities—French, Spanish and American—and the combination and intermingling of these with still other elements are narrated in a pleasant style by the genial author, who is known from quite a number of other publications, and from his work in connection with the World's Fair at St. Louis, and with other organizations of that city.

It is a finely printed and bound book of 1132 pages, and a large number of plates of portraits and views of places and buildings. The twenty-nine chapters in the work trace the history of the city from its founding in 1764 to the present time, and without dealing in statistics it tells of the events and the persons which have made the city one that is the "First City" in many things as well as the "Fourth City" in population.

St. Louis One Hundred Years in a Week. Celebration of the Centennial of incorporation. October third to ninth, nineteen hundred and nine. Edited by **Walter B. Stevens**. St. Louis, [1910].

This work sketches the event that was celebrated last year, with an account of the Association which had charge of the celebration, which lasted a week and included church day, welcome day, Veiled Prophet day, municipal day, industrial day, educational and historical day, and St. Louis day. The 180 pages of the work are full of interesting and valuable information about the city, and the engravings add to the beauty of the work.

The Log of the Alton, being a narrative of the voyage of the Business Men's League to New Orleans, October 25 to 30, 1909. By **Walter B. Stevens**. St. Louis, 1909.

Mr. Stevens was well known as an official of the World's Fair at St. Louis, and as a writer, usually on subjects more or less connected with St. Louis. The above privately printed work gives an interesting account of the trip made by the Business Men's League, as a part of the water-way movement participated in by the President and his cabinet, 22 Governors

of States, and 117 Senators and Representatives. The story is an interesting one to read. The nearly three score men of St. Louis taking part in it, with their sayings and doings connected it with St. Louis; the first twenty-two pages, and the final pages are of Missouri travel; and the work is by a Missouri author, making it trebly welcome to the State Historical Society.

Laclede the Founder of St. Louis. By **Walter B. Stevens.** Compliments of the Merchants-Laclede National Bank of St. Louis.

When the banking room of the above bank was remodeled, a place of honor was made above the entrance and in this was placed a bronze bust of Laclede, executed by George Julian Zolnay. A picture of this bust, and the account of the founding of St. Louis and of its founder in the interesting and graceful style of Mr. Stevens adds a valued publication to the biography of Missourians.

St. Francois County, Missouri. Detailed financial statement of 1909, roster of county officials, statistical and other interesting information. Souvenir edition, August, nineteen ten. Compiled by **Joseph A. Lawrence**, county clerk. Farmington, [1910].

Quite a number of the county clerks issue the financial statement of the county in pamphlet form. If all of the counties would follow the example of these the county histories would be more easily and conveniently preserved. The above compiled by Mr. Lawrence contains a brief history of the county from its organization in 1821, and is illustrated by nine plates, showing the members of the county court, the various county buildings, and a view of the crowd that witnessed in 1880 the hanging of Hardin, the only one that has ever taken place in the county. The pamphlet is evidence of excellent efficiency in office of Mr. Lawrence, and we hope to have similar issues by Mr. Lawrence for years to come.

Third Annual Report of the Missouri Library Commission for the year ending December 31, 1909. Jefferson City, 1910.

The Library Commission under the efficient management of Mr. Purd B. Wright, one of the trustees of this society, and late librarian of the public library at St. Joseph, but now of Los Angeles, California, as its president, and of Miss Elizabeth B. Wales as its secretary, shows a prosperous year in the matter of traveling libraries, and legislative reference work. The statistics and condition of the various libraries of the State are given. In the notice of the library of this Society there was a mistake in crediting to Mr. Wm. Paxton of Platte City, the donation of the 2500 minutes of religious associations in Missouri.

Love in the Weaving. By **Edith Hall Orthwein**, New York, Broadway Publishing Co., 1910.

That this work is popular is shown by the fact that we have received a copy of the ninth edition. The title page has upon it "To love is ever to thirst, and to thirst is ever to pray. Thus love is prayer, and they who love best pray best." The novel is a study of Love psychology, and is an interesting contribution to amatory literature. The authoress is a resident of Kansas City, and has published a number of works, both prose and poetry.

NOTES.

NEWSPAPERS FROM. PROF. LOVE.

The shipment of files of newspapers received from Prof. James Love of Liberty, Missouri, has been partially arranged for the binding, but will not be completed until the receipt of another shipment that it to be sent.

Of Louisville papers there are five different ones, the Courier-Journal, commencing 1853.

Of several New York papers the Tribune is the fullest, commencing 1879.

The St. Louis Republican and the Missouri Democrat both are very valuable, covering the Civil War period and commencing 1856 and 1857. Of the Globe-Democrat and the Republic there are many years earlier than the files of the Society had previously.

The early St. Louis papers were especially interesting. The St. Louis Weekly News, Weekly St. Louis Intelligencer, Missouri Cascade, True Shepherd and Cascade, and St. Louis Sentinel were all in the 50's.

Many other papers are included in the donation, which is highly prized by the Society.

NEWSPAPERS FROM MR. GILLESPIE.

The Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri on a late trip obtained from Mr. James Gillespie, the editor of the Reville at Memphis, Missouri, the following old newspapers, all of which were published in that town:

Memphis Conservative, 1869 to 1880.

Scotland County News, 1873 to 1879.

The Greenback Tribune, 1880.

The National, 1882 to 1888.

The Register, 1888 to 1890.

The Farmers' Union, 1891 to 1895.

The Herald, 1895, 1896.

The People's Messenger, 1896 to 1898.

The Semi-Weekly Star, 1901 to 1903.

The Daily Chronicle, 1902.

These had all come in regular course to the Reveille office, and their preservation by the editor, Mr. James Gillespie, shows that he had a proper appreciation of the importance of preserving the local sources of history. The Society will have these papers bound in fifteen volumes.

The April Issue of "Americana" contains an illustrated article that is of interest to Missourians from the fact that several of the officers whose portraits are given were Missourians. The article is on "Major General Frederick Steele and Staff: a resurrected photograph of the Civil War," by Edmund Frederick Steele Joy, a namesake of the general, and the photograph was taken at Little Rock, Arkansas, in December, 1864. The article has a sketch of General Steele's career, and some account of the officers under him. A great many Missourians were with Steele, and of one of them Mr. Joy says in a letter to the editor, "Col. Francis H. Manter, of the 32nd Missouri Infantry, the Chief of Staff, was an ideal soldier, a particular friend of General Steele and greatly beloved by all his associates. His untimely death on June 13, 1864, through an accident by the fall of his horse, cut short a life that gave promise of great distinction. The loss of this efficient officer was felt to be irreparable and no one else was appointed to his position on the staff so long as Steele remained in Arkansas."

Among the staff officers shown in the photograph were the following Missourians:

Lt. Col. Jabez B. Rogers, Merrill's Horse; Lt. Col. Jno. L. Chandler, 7th Missouri Cavalry; Lt. Thomas D. Witt, 1st Missouri Light Artillery; Captain James Marr, of a Missouri Battery. Col. Francis H. Manter, 32nd Missouri Infantry, is also mentioned. The Society is under obligations for a copy of the paper to the author, whose father was one of the staff officers.

This number of "Americana" is of special interest to Missourians in that in Chapter XIX of the History of the Mormon Church by Brigham H. Roberts, included in it, there is the account of the selection of Independence, Missouri, as the place where the City of Zion and the temple should stand.

Kansas City Historical Society. The "Old Settlers' Association," of Kansas City has become merged with the Kansas City Historical Society, and an effort is now being made to get 500 members, at \$1.00 membership fee and \$1.00 annual dues. The board of education will give it rooms in which can be exhibited the historical relics and souvenirs to be collected by the Society.

The addresses delivered at the meetings will be compiled and published in book form. Dr. W. L. Campbell is the president, and James Anderson the secretary.

Destruction of Missouri Books. In the last number of the Review was a notice of gross vandalism in the destruction of books at the court house in Troy, Lincoln County, in which the statement was made that the books were burned. A correction of this statement was learned too late to make the correction in that number of the Review. After action by the county court in favor of the State Historical Society, the women of a church in Troy collected a car load of paper to be shipped to a paper mill, and these books, several hundred in number, and several hundred dollars in value, were dumped into this car load, and shipped to the mill to be ground up. There were two copies of a publication that has sold as high as \$18.00 per copy.

Another similar case arising from the plan of raising money by collecting a car load of paper to be shipped to a paper mill happened in Oregon, Holt County. An old editor died leaving files of newspapers back into the 40's, and these old volumes of newspapers, almost certainly the only files in existence, were dumped in to be sold at a hundredth part of their real value!

Purd B. Wright, one of the trustees of this Society and for fourteen years librarian of the Public Library of St. Joseph, Missouri, has been elected librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, California.

Mr. Wright will be greatly missed in this Society, the Missouri Library Commission, and the St. Joseph library.

Gov. John P. Altgeld the late governor of Illinois, was for a time living in Missouri. In 1869 he came to Andrew County, taught school, worked on a farm and studied law. In 1872 he was admitted to the bar, and soon after was appointed City Attorney of Savannah. In 1874 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the County, but after ten months he resigned and went to Chicago.

Copies of the Review Wanted—For Vol. I, No. 4, Vol. II, No. 5, or Vol. III, No. 1, any other two numbers of the Review will be given. These numbers are wanted to make up complete volumes.

NECROLOGY.

MRS. SOPHRONIA AUSTIN was born near Bowling Green, Ky., February 15, 1810, and died at Carthage, Missouri, June 17, 1910, after having lived in Missouri eighty-eight years.

HON. HENRY T. KENT was a member of the House from St. Louis in the 32d General Assembly, 1883, and although a Democrat, he refused to support several measures advocated by Col. James G. Butler, at that time Democratic boss of St. Louis, although great political pressure was brought to bear on him

He was born at Louisa Court House, Virginia, graduated from the University of Virginia in 1872, and came to St. Louis to enter upon the practice of law the same year. He

was for years president of the Civic League of St. Louis, and active in the support of movements advocated by it for civic betterment in St. Louis. He died in St. Louis, July 8, 1910.

THOMAS A. McINTYRE was born near Mexico, Audrain County, November 13, 1836, and lived in that county all his life, most of the time on the farm where he was born. He was a member of the House in the Thirty-eighth General Assembly, 1895. He died in Mexico, July 17, 1910.

RICHARD MOLLENCOTT was a member of the House in the 27th and 28th General Assemblies of Missouri, 1873 and 1875, from St. Louis, in which city he resided since 1849. He enlisted in Company H, First Missouri Regiment in April, 1861, and was mustered out as first lieutenant of Battery M in July 1865. He died in St. Louis, August 4th, aged 68 years.

HON. GEORGE C. THILENIUS was a Representative in the 40th and 41st General Assemblies of Missouri, 1899-1901 from Cape Girardeau County. He was born in Adliebson, near Hanover, Germany, eighty-one years ago, and came to Cape Girardeau sixty-three years ago. During the Civil War he was colonel of the Missouri Home Guards, and for several terms mayor of the town. He was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1865, and one of the signers of the ordinance of emancipation passed by it. He died July 7, and the body was cremated in St. Louis.

COL. JOHN P. TRACY was born in Wayne County, Ohio, September 18, 1836, and moved to Missouri at the age of twenty-two. During the Civil War he was a member of the Seventh Missouri, and was mustered out as first lieutenant, and afterwards was a lieutenant colonel in the Missouri militia. He was admitted to the bar in Cedar County in 1865, and in 1874 he moved to Springfield, where he was editor of the Patriot, and a Grant presidential elector. He was later editor of the Journal, the Herald and the Republican, and in 1880 was a Garfield elector. He served a term as U. S. marshal and in 1894 was elected to Congress, and in 1903 was elected

to the House of the Forty-second General Assembly of Missouri. Governor Hadley appointed him superintendent of the Federal Soldiers' Home at St. James, and he held this office at the time of his death, July 24, 1910, at his farm near Springfield, Missouri.

COL. ROBERT B. WILLIAMS died at Fayette, Missouri, July 11, 1910, and was buried with Masonic honors. He was born in Howard County, Missouri, September 8, 1841, and was educated at Central College and the State University. Commencing in 1866, he was engaged in mercantile and banking business, and was so successful in these that he was elected Treasurer of the State in 1900 and served in that office for four years.

MAJ. GEO. W. GILSON was born near Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1831, and came to Missouri as a printer in 1847. He was connected with the newspapers of St. Louis, Kansas City, and for a year with Col. Switzler in the Columbia Statesman. During the Civil War he attained the rank of Major, and after retiring from journalism he held positions in the government building and the United States Courts in St. Louis. He died in St. Louis, August 13, 1910.

CHARLES PINCKNEY VANDIVER was born in Chariton County, Missouri, December 25, 1858, and for twenty-five years labored earnestly to build up the Chariton Courier, of which he was editor, and at the head of which he carried the motto "Man was made to hustle." He always carried on an active crusade against gamblers and law breakers, and on account of this had several encounters, the last one resulting fatally, having been knocked down, trampled into unconsciousness by one John W. Cunningham, death resulting August 6, 1910. Mr. Vandiver was an active friend of the State Historical Society, and presented to it the files of his paper from its beginning in 1872 to the present time, with a break for the years 1884-5-6-7.

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Editor.

The Kirksville Meeting.

In accordance with the decision of the Society at the St. Louis meeting the spring meeting was held at Kirksville on Saturday, May 14th, 1910. Several other societies met at the same time and visitors were most hospitably welcomed and entertained by the faculty of the Kirksville Normal School. It was unfortunate, however, that in the case of our society the time seemed inopportune for a good attendance, and very few history teachers from a distance put in an appearance. This is the more to be regretted on account of the excellent and interesting program that had been provided.

The morning session began at 9 with a stimulating discussion on method by President H. A. Tucker, entitled "The Doctrine of Interest and Instruction in the Social Sciences in the High School." This address was followed by a paper on "The Use of the Library in High School History Classes" by Miss Wales of the Missouri State Library Commission. The editor was able to secure Miss Wales' manuscript and intends printing her valuable paper in the next number of this Review. An able and interesting supplement to the two formal papers was furnished by the discussion which was opened by Professor Foght of the Kirksville Normal and participated in by several of the members. The third paper presented was in the form of a talk by Dr. A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri on "New Viewpoints in Ancient History." His scholarly presentation of the present status of Ancient History and of methods of getting the most out of

its study was enjoyed by all. The last paper presented was by Mr. F. B. Smith of Savannah, Mo., entitled "What Topics in English Constitutional History are not too Difficult for Secondary School History Courses." As Mr. Smith was unable to be present this paper was read by proxy.

A very small number assembled for the afternoon session at 1:30, but those who did appear enjoyed an interesting illustrated talk on "A Pilgrimage Through Italy" by Miss Clara L. Thompson of the Mary Institute, St. Louis. The Association then turned its attention to the reports of its committees on History in High Schools and Elementary Schools. A carefully compiled report on the questionnaire sent out to the High Schools of the State was presented and discussed by Prof. E. M. Violette of Kirksville and reviewed by Prof. N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri. There being no report as yet from Superintendent O'Rear of Boonville on the Elementary Schools the Society proceeded to the election of officers. The officers chosen were Miss Porter of St. Joseph as President, Mr. Shouse of Kansas City as Vice President, Professor Eugene Fair of Kirksville as Secretary-Treasurer, and N. M. Trenholme of Columbia as Editor. The meeting then adjourned with the hope and expectation that at St. Joseph in November there would be a large and enthusiastic attendance of history teachers.

BOOK NOTICES.

Davis, William Stearns. An outline History of the Roman Empire (44 B. C. to 378 A. D.). New York. The Macmillan Co. 1909. pp. ix, 222.

A readable narrative history of Roman imperial development in its more popular aspects. There is not a great deal of emphasis on the institutional side and causes, and results are not clearly brought out. For young readers, however, Professor Davis' book will prove helpful and attractive and will make a useful introduction to the study of medieval

history. The chapter on "The Awakening of the Empire" (Ch. III) is of particular value.

Johnson, A. H., Editor. Six Ages of European History. From A. D. 476-1878. 6 vols. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1910.

This excellent series will meet with a welcome from teachers of Medieval and Modern History as furnishing suitable collateral reading for both text-book and lecture courses in high schools and colleges. The first volume is an account of "The Dawn of Medieval Europe," covering the period from 476 to 918, and is ably written by Professor J. B. Masterman of the University of Birmingham, England. Vol. II relates to "The Central Period of the Middle Ages," 918-1273, and is by Miss Lees of Somerville College, Oxford, England. Then follows a volume by Miss Lodge of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, on "The End of the Middle Age," 1273-1453. The last three volumes are devoted to modern history and are divided as follows: Vol. IV "Europe in Renaissance and Reformation," 1453-1660, by Miss Hollings of Edgbaston College, Dublin; Vol. V "The Age of the Enlightened Despot," 1660-1739, by A. H. Johnson of All Souls' College, Oxford, the editor of the series; and Vol. VI "The Remaking of Modern Europe," 1739-1878, by A. H. Marriott of Worcester College, Oxford.

The narrative is clear and readable, and the quality well sustained so that the series as a whole has decided merit as a reference work. The Macmillan Company has put the books on the American market at a price within the reach of any high school library.

Trenholme, N. M. An Outline of English History. For use in High Schools and Colleges. (Based on Cheyney's "Short History of England"). Boston, etc. Ginn & Co. pp. xii, 122.

This is a small manual of discussion topics in which an attempt is made to organize English History along developmental lines. In addition to the ninety topics outlined, there

is a list of reference books suitable for high school libraries and a pronouncing index of English proper names. The aim of the author has evidently been to provide a convenient manual of class room preparation and discussion for teachers and students who are attempting to get as much as possible from the study of English History. The outline is divided into twelve sections, and at the end of each section are lists of review questions.

Hazen, C. D. Europe Since 1815. New York. Henry Holt & Co. 1910.

A well organized account of nineteenth century history which will be of value both as a text and reference book. Professor Hazen has performed a difficult task with skill and ability.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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NO. 2.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF MISSOURI GOVERNORS.

Second Paper.

GOVERNOR WILLARD PREBLE HALL.

As one of the greatest lawyers, and most servicable patriots of Missouri in the days of its need, ex-Governor Willard Preble Hall deserves a conspicuous niche in its hall of Fame. To put into concrete form the written and unwritten history of his life and character is the purpose of the writer, who shared his friendship and knew much of his inner and public life.

In his birth right he represented the best there was in New England character. As early as 1630 Nathaniel Hall and his wife, Mary, came from England to the Massachusetts Colony. From them descended the line of Stephen Halls, the last of whom was the father of Willard Hall, who married Abigail Cotton, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a descendant of John Cotton, the first noted minister of Boston. Willard graduated from Harvard in 1722, and became a distinguished pastor of a church at Hartford. His younger brother, Stephen, married Mary, daughter of Deacon William Cotton of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He graduated from Harvard in 1765, and

was a tutor therein for several years. Removing to Portland, Maine, and engaging in mercantile pursuits he became wealthy, and wielded a large influence in civic and political affairs. Then came John Hall, who married Statira Preble, the parents of the subject of this sketch.

On his paternal side, associated with the earliest history of New England settlers, were the Davises, Willards, Willeeses, Cottons and others. There were in his ancestral line great jurists and publicists, such as George Eustice, Chief Justice of Louisiana, Willard Hall, a United States Judge in Delaware from 1823 to 1871, who indulged considerably in discussions of the science of government, political economy, and kindred questions. Isaac Parker, the distinguished Chief Justice of Massachusetts, belonged to this stock. On his maternal side, Statira Preble was daughter of Col. Esais Preble and sister of William Pitt Preble, one of the most noted Justices of the Supreme Court of Maine. John Hall, the father of the subject of this sketch, seems to have possessed rare and useful inventive genius, as he achieved an enviable reputation in mechanical science. He invented the first breech-loading gun, known as Hall's Carbine. His merits, in this line of usefulness, commended him to the Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, where was born Willard Preble Hall, on the 9th day of May, 1820. When not attending the primary school he tinkered in the workshop, and boasted that he knew how to make a gun. He matriculated at Yale College, from which he graduated in 1839.

His elder brother, William A. Hall, preceded him to Missouri, locating in Randolph County, and became one of the ablest Circuit Judges of the State, and later a member of Congress. From him I received my license, in 1856, as an Attorney-at-Law. In 1840 Willard arrived in Missouri, and read law under his brother William; and began the practice at Sparta, then the County seat of Buchanan County. He had no fortune or recommendation other than his indomitable will, intellectual endowment, and hopefulness. Soon discerning a better field for his profession in the rising City of St. Joseph,

he located there in 1843, which ever afterward remained his home.

It is a coincidence in the careers of Hamilton R. Gamble (of whom I wrote in a recent number of this Magazine) and Willard P. Hall, that each in their comparative youth should have been made prosecuting attorney of their respective districts, and acquitted themselves with singular credit. They differed, however, in that Hall early displayed a taste and capacity for politics. In 1844 he was Presidential elector in the St. Joseph Congressional District, on the ticket headed by James K. Polk, in opposition to the great Statesman and Orator Henry Clay, the latter of whom was represented in that district by the redoubtable Col. Alexander Doniphan. The burning issue of that campaign was the annexation of Texas, the underlying incitement to which, by the Statesmen of the South, was the enlargement of slave-holding territory. Young Hall so well sustained himself in debate, with so brilliant and experienced an orator as Doniphan, as not only to greatly endear himself to his partisans, but to win the permanent admiration and friendship of Doniphan. He was rewarded by his party in 1846 with the nomination for Congress. War in the meantime had been proclaimed by the United States against Mexico. Doniphan, with a genius for military exploits, began the organization of the force, which became immortal as "Doniphan's Expedition to Mexico." Hall cast aside his campaign scrap-book, enlisted as a private under Col. Doniphan, and became a dashing trooper.

It is not hard to imagine how the occasional reports, sent in by 'Pony Express,' by the army correspondent, depicting the privations and heroic fortitude of the bold band of Missourians, that like a blue ribbon stretched away over parched deserts, amid lurking bands of savage Indians, while each camping ground separated them farther and farther from home and loved ones, were more effective in winning votes for the young candidate than any speech on the hustings. When the expedition had planted the victor's flag in the Plaza of Santa

Fe, Hall at the age of twenty-six years had been elected to Congress, the news of which he received in camp.

On the occupation of the Capitol of New Mexico, General Phil Kearney, the military commandant, set about the task of establishing civil government over the conquered territory. A rugged old soldier, more familiar with the sword than the pen, he turned to Col. Doniphan, an experienced, matured lawyer, as best fitted for the delicate work of constructing a Code of civil government for such a people. But, that he should have selected so young a man as Willard P. Hall from the private ranks of the army in the field as Col. Doniphan's chief collaborator was remarkable. Doubtless the suggestion came from Col. Doniphan, who was sagacious, and knew how capable and dependable was this modest soldier. Those familiar with Col. Doniphan's taste for "elegant leisure," and aversion to involved, detailed work, can well imagine that the delving into the unknown principles of Spanish law, rejecting what was most crude and obsolete, and putting into practical concrete shape a Code adapted to the customs and conditions of the little enlightened subjects of the territory, largely devolved upon Private Hall. How thoroughly and well this delicate task was performed is shown by the fact that the general provisions of that Code, during all the years of the territorial existence of New Mexico, have been its governing law, intelligently and concisely expressed, and well suited to the people subject to it. This testimony I may be permitted to give, as during my career on the federal bench I had occasion to examine and apply provisions of the Code.

The only instance that passed under my observation during the Civil war of a soldier being nominated for Congress was one of the rank of Colonel. When he received intelligence of his nomination it was on the eve of a prospective clash of arms. He stood not upon the order of his going, but telegraphed his resignation as Colonel, and without so much as delivering a valedictory to "the boys" left behind, he went "double quick" for home. Not so with private Willard P. Hall. It having been decided that General Kearney, with a

detachment of the small force assembled at Santa Fe, should undertake the hazardous expedient of striking the enemy in the province of Southern California, to be compassed by forced marches over an almost untracked wilderness, over arid, parched deserts, perilous mountain passes, beset with warlike Indian tribes whose methods of warfare and resources were unknown, Hall voluntarily attached himself to the staff of Col. St. George Cooke, and underwent all the privations and sufferings of that daring enterprise. Not until the American flag floated in triumph over that Italy of the Pacific coast, in 1847, did he return home and take his seat in Congress. He was elected to that office for three consecutive terms, volutarily retiring on March 4th, 1853.

While opportunity does not make the great man, only presenting the occasion for his development, it must be admitted that this new Congressman was admitted to a grand theater of education and inspiration. In all the splendor of their power before him were such men as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Jefferson Davis, Stephen A. Douglass, John Bell, John Minor Botts, and other great actors on the political stage. In those days were pending the Fugitive Slave Law, the Oregon Boundary, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the admission of Nebraska and Kansas into the sisterhood of States; the grants of Public Lands to foster the building of railroads, and to the States to promote the cause of popular education. While, doubtless, conscious of his innate power, Hall's modesty and keen sense of propriety, forbade meretricious display. No man ever entertained more contempt for the ways of the "bunkum" politician in Congress. He did not have printed in the Congressional Record a purported speech, wordy and senseless, punctuated with interruptions and parenthesized with applause, that was never delivered, save before a mirror, and sent out to his constituents. His was the force of action that accomplished useful results. The District and State he represented had peculiar needs to which he energetically addressed himself. Within the limits of the State was an immense domain of public lands. He recognized the wise

policy of their application to the needed development of the State. It was largely attributable to his persistent and skillfully directed efforts that large concessions of those lands were obtained for the building of railroads in the State then without such aids to its development. The cause of universal education, also, appealed to him; and he, therefore, aided in securing grants from the government of swamp, and waste lands within the State, which laid the foundation of the school fund in Missouri.

It is aside from the purpose or permissible limits of this paper to discuss the causes that led to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But it may not be inopportune, as evidencing that Willard P. Hall was no nonentity, but a vigilant, active factor in important legislation, and that he looked deeply into the trend of pending measures before Congress, as they bore upon the interests of the great Northwest, to here note that near the close of his last term in Congress, when the Nebraska Bill was pending, he conceived that the opposition to it from certain sections, such as Texas, for instance, had for its underlying purpose a design to secure within the extreme south, at New Orleans, or Galveston, perhaps, the initial point for the construction of a national railway to the Pacific seaboard. Hall perceived the immense commercial advantage to the West and Northwest in the passage of the Nebraska bill, on which was predicated the provisions of a bill formulated by him for the construction of such railroad through that territory. In one of the last speeches made by him in Congress, he exposed what he conceived to be the insincerity of a member from Texas, in asserting that the bill would violate sacred treaty obligations with certain Indian tribes in that territory. *Inter alia*, he said:

“I trust that the gentleman’s influence may be as potential in Texas in urging a law to secure to the Indians their rights, as I fear it has been in this House to array an interest against the organization of Nebraska territory, and the protection of our people who go to

Oregon and California every year. I wish to suggest to the gentleman from Texas whether he may not have been influenced to some degree, unconsciously, to oppose this bill from considerations of this kind? If he can convince this House and the country that the territory of Nebraska shall not be organized, either at this session or any future session of Congress,—if the people of Texas can prevail upon the government of the United States to drive the Indians of Texas, the Comanches and other wild tribes, into the territory of Nebraska, it may have the effect of rendering your overland routes from Missouri and Iowa to Oregon and California so dangerous that the tide of emigration will have to pass through Texas—an object which Texas has zealously sought to accomplish for years past. In addition to that, if in the course of time a great railroad should be found necessary from this part of the continent to the shores of the Pacific, and the doctrine prevail, that all the territory west of Missouri is to be a wilderness from this day henceforth and forever, Texas being settled, the people of the country will have no alternative but to make the Pacific road terminate at Galveston or some other point in Texas—”

The spirit of Commercialism is not of recent birth, nor is it a child of Wall Street.

Hall was succeeded in Congress by Mordicai Oliver; which suggests the vicissitudes and involvements of political and social life. Oliver was an Old-line Whig, and something of a “Know Nothing;” and singularly enough he made the minority report from the Committee on Territories in opposition to the passage of the Nebraska bill, which Hall so ardently favored. He was Secretary of State under the Provisional government of Missouri; and while Hall was Governor (being a widower) he married Oliver’s daughter, then a dashing belle at the State Capitol.

The issues growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the rock of offense on which Hall separated from his great political mentor, Thomas H. Benton, and became the ally of Stephen A. Douglass; who stood as the great exponent of the doctrine of local government, in that the residents of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska should be free to vote slavery into or out of their jurisdictions.

When they became free States, and the Dred Scott decision was made by the Supreme Court, the feeling between the North and the South became tense. The old Whig party, with its "rich foliage of fame" was beginning to disintegrate. Its last mighty struggle for existence was made in 1860, under the leadership of its two splendid exponents, John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, who made their last fight under the banner inscribed with the patriotic sentiment,—“The Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of the Laws,”—names and words by which to conjure, reflecting luster upon the party’s expiring life.

The red hot ploughshare of discord was also running a furrow through the hitherto close ranks of the Democratic party. This resulted in the withdrawal from the National Convention at Baltimore of the ultra southern wing of the party, which nominated John C. Breckenridge for President,—the regular organization nominating Stephen A. Douglass for President. So that it came to pass that the followers of Douglass, in that campaign, became the fervent advocates of an indissoluble Union, while the Breckenridge wing were charged with disunion sentiments. Hall stood by Douglass. And when the great crisis of 1861 came he aligned himself with the Union men of the State and Nation. Doubtless there was in his ancestral strain that which recalled the heroes of Lexington and Breed Heights, and the glorious memories perpetuated by Bunker Hill monument. But he was instinct, also, with practical, good sense. He told the slave owner that the first secession gun fired at the Nation’s flag would echo the freedom of every slave in Missouri; that the State had never asked anything, within reason, from the general government that had

not been granted : that, in fact, she had been the petted child of the Union, and was bound to it by every consideration of gratitude and interest. To vindicate her loyalty he quit his law office and came out of political retirement, and went as a delegate to the memorable convention called by the Legislature to determine the relations of the State to the Federal Union.

It is not too much to say that there were no greater factors in directing the course of that Convention, and keeping the State firmly to her Constitutional moorings in the Union, than the two brothers, William A. and Willard P. Hall. They resided in slave holding communities, with strong Southern attachments. William A. Hall had for many years presided as Circuit Judge over one of the wealthiest and most intelligent districts in the State. He was revered by the lawyers, and regarded as a tribune of the people. He had just been elected, as a Democrat, to Congress. Willard P. Hall was yet the idol of his party and the overshadowing lawyer of the northwest part of the State. A flag of secession unfurled by them would have been like the trumpet call to arms of Rhoderic Dhu to his clansmen. But when their voices were lifted, clear and strong, for the Union, it was an influence hard to overcome. They were great men. In rugged force, strong mentality, staid judgment, and deep, earnest conviction, William A. Hall must be accorded the premiership. Willard was more scholarly, acute and analytical, more dynamic, aggressive and magnetic; and in the fence and foil of debate he was masterful.

Like Hamilton R. Gamble, who was regarded as the Sage of the Convention, the Halls made no set speeches, dealing in mere political history, or speculative abstractions. But, at times, they actively participated in the discussion of pending, important measures demanding affirmative action; and then with such force, directness and energy as to invariably enlist attention and command consideration. No one not conversant, from having been in contact with it, can at this distance of time, fully realize what it was for men in the position of Hall to stand immovable for the Union. To be charged with abolition tendencies, and aiding Lincoln in an attempt to "coerce a

Sovereign State," were frightful bogies to be encountered. This outcry scared some strong men into flight or indecision. All manner of abstract questions intended to embarrass the opposers of secession, were persistently presented to be voted on, to make a record by those who thought more of their political future than of country. Willard P. Hall never lost his equilibrium, or swerved one hair's breadth from what he conceived to be the one great, paramount end, the preservation of the Union under the federal Constitution. Deceit and concealment were an unknown art to him; and there was not one pulse of moral cowardice in his heart.

So when the Convention resolved to adhere to the Union, and it was confronted with the situation of the State being abandoned by Geovernor Claib Jackson and his cabinet, the legislature dissolved, civil government superseded by military authority, he did not hesitate to affirm, under what he conceived to be plenary power under the legislative act calling the Convention into existence, that it was the patriotic, solemn duty of the body to provide for a Provisional government. And when he went about this delicate work he did not balk with the timorous, nor take counsel of political expediency; but resolutely espoused such measures as in his judgment would make civil government in the State effective and sure. Had a few men of like commanding influence in the Convention at this crisis faltered or tacked, the Convention would have vanished into smoke, and the bayonet and the Provost guard would have dominated the State until the war ended.

When the Convention came to the selection of a Governor, best qualified for such responsible position in such a juncture, there were no two opinions among the conservative men of that body as to his name. It was Hamilton R. Gamble. I feel, at this remote day, that I violate no State secret, nor detract aught from the splendid moral courage, self reliance, or conscious capacity of Governor Gamble, in saying that because of his wasting strength, he was extremely adverse to subjecting it to the still greater strain of undertaking the tremendous responsibilities of the office. He, therefore, insisted, as a condi-

tion to its acceptance, that Willard P. Hall should be selected as Lieutenant Governor. His wise head foresaw that whether sick or well, present or absent, the Provisional Government would meet with tempestuous seas testing every stanchion in the ship of State. Of all the men of the Convention, possessing the mental and moral force to take the helm in the probable hour of need, Willard P. Hall was preeminent. Throughout the incumbency of Governor Gamble, the Lieutenant Governor was the sure staff on which he leaned. On the death of Governor Gamble, January 30th, 1864, Hall succeeded him, and filled the office for the unexpired term. That the blessings of civil government, wisely and efficiently administered, were vouchsafed to the people of the State during the stormy scene through which they passed must be largely credited to Governor Hall.

At the close of his term the office of United States District Judge for the Western District of Missouri became vacant, through the death of Judge Wells. Abraham Lincoln and Hall were colleagues in Congress, and though differing in politics they were attracted to each other by their noble virtues. In 1858, when Lincoln's fame became national, by reason of the memorable debates between him and Stephen A. Douglas, he was induced to visit Ellwood, Kansas, opposite St. Joseph, Missouri, to address the people. Among his attentive listeners was Willard P. Hall. Pressing through the crowd Hall shook his hand, and urged him to accept the hospitality of his home, which Lincoln, with equal cordiality, accepted. This courtesy Lincoln never forgot. Recognizing Hall's eminent legal attainments, his judicial temper, and the great service he had rendered Missouri and the Republic during the war, he expressed a strong desire to ask him to accept the appointment to said vacancy on the federal bench. But partisan feeling ran high in the State; and those having "the pull" in the Republican party wanted the patronage. Mr. Lincoln, with undisguised reluctance, yielded to this clamor, and gave the office to Arnold Krekel. No injustice is done to the dead in saying that the baneful influence of intensified partisanship, as it touches

the judicial branch of the government, was never more exemplified than in thus losing to the bench such a lawyer and such a man as Governor Hall. He was fitted to sit upon the Supreme Bench of the Nation, and would have been the peer of any Justice of the period.

Ever afterward he declined the use of his name for any office. His special adaptation was the practice of law, and on that pedestal stands the real monument of his fame. I but express the concensus of opinion among those in position to know in saying that in the essential qualities that make up the useful and complete lawyer Governor Hall had no superior in the State in the days of his professional activity. In clearness of perception of applicable law he was remarkable. In argument he wasted no time in generalities or abstractions. With no thought of self, or care for display, he went directly at the knot in the case in hand; and with concise logic and excellent diction he left no doubt as to his meaning in the mind of court or jury. He essayed not the spell of the orator; but there was a nervous energy and sincerity of manner in his speech that carried conviction.

With Finch he believed that "all the sciences are raked up from the ashes of the law"; and with Coke that "all this new corn cometh from the old fields"; that the underlying principle being understood, the law is flexible enough to meet all the new conditions of modern commercial development and the progress of civilization. In the preparation of his argument before the Supreme Court of the State in *St. Louis vs. Gaslight Company*, 70 Mo. 69, (in which I was opposing counsel) he dug up from the musty volumes of Bacon's Abridgement of the Laws, the postulate that a court of equity would not specifically enforce a contract to arbitrate; and on that he cast his line of battle. We met him with the argument that the rule invoked had its exception in the case of a unilateral contract, of which the case at bar was an instance. And had this exception then been recognized as by more recent decisions, the decision of that case should have been in favor of the city. But the Court stood by precedent as then most recognized.

If the capacity for taking infinite pains be indicative of Genius, Governor Hall possessed it in rare degree. I was much impressed with the unusual force, terseness and diction of his argument in the case above mentioned. There was not an expletive or repetition in it. The explanation of this marked characteristic of his greatest arguments before the higher courts, I afterwards learned, was his habit of committing to writing the complete speech, and, from a cultivated memory, delivering it exactly as prepared. By this habit he was clear and correct in statement, avoiding desultory digression, confusing parentheses, wasted time on inconsequential details, and, better still, of not wearying the Court with "damnable reiteration". He was so self possessed and mentally poised that no interjected interruption, by Court or opposing counsel, deflected or diverted him from the projected line of presentation.

He was an intellectual aristocrat. The methods of the trickster, and the pretensions of the charlatan were his aversion. Anything that smacked of demagoguery and cant he regarded as mental prostitution and moral degradation. The prejudice which is the offspring of ignorance, the public feeling that is the ebullition of emotion,—the impulse of sickly sentimentality—"the froth on the currents of mere passion," he challenged and defied, whenever and wherever encountered. In the days of his full powers he would not sacrifice his convictions of right and duty for any reward of popular applause.

Nothing seemed so much to arouse the intensity of his feelings and the energy of his intellect as that character of legislation and narrow prejudice that in its zeal tends to undermine the rights of person and property, whether of a natural or artificial person, by disregarding the fundamental principles that lie at the base of organized society and constitutional government. Both in private and public he inveighed against all such tendencies with a boldness and eloquence that made him a terror to the demagogue and the agrarian. Yet, there was not in his nature one atom of austerity or asceticism. He was intellectually and morally honest, and insisted that this is a

government of law and not of will, and that liberty, property and life should not be at the caprice of evanescent opinion or blind prejudice.

To him can well be applied the sentiment uttered by Edward Everett:

"An earthly immortality belongs to a great and good character. History embalms it; it lives in its moral influence, in its authority, in its example, in the memory of the words and deeds in which it was manifested; and as every age adds to the illustration of its efficiency it may chance to be the best understood by remote posterity."

At night, in the midst of a terrible snow storm, in the winter of 1881, he arrived by railroad at St. Joseph. There was neither public nor private conveyance obtainable to take him to his home. While prudence dictated that he should not attempt to brave such a tempest his indomitable will brooked no denial. The physical struggle proved too great for his strength, and he was prostrated. Rest, travel, the best of nursing and medical skill failed to restore him. His vitality was sapped. On the 2nd day of November, 1882, at his home, he passed away. He lies buried by the side of his deceased children in Mount Mareh near St. Joseph, Missouri.

If renown should rest on character rather than reputation, and honors on worth rather than pretension, this man earned an imperishable monument.

JNO. F. PHILIPS.

Kansas City, Mo.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST CATHOLIC MISSION WORK IN CENTRAL MISSOURI.

Among the early settlers in Central Missouri were a great many Catholics from different places in Europe, also a great many Germans. In all their hard struggles and labors to bring about the first fruits of cultivation, they forgot not their religion, in which they had been instructed and raised in the old country. Therefore they wanted to have a priest, who would preach to them, instruct their children, administer to them the Holy Sacraments and prepare them for the last journey. It is to the honor of the Order of Jesuits, that they were the first priests who followed these poor settlers in the mountains and woods of a region that was yet a wilderness and bore all the hardships and privations of the pioneers. Very early the Jesuit Fathers had a house and college in St. Louis on 9th street and Washington avenue, also a house in St. Charles and in Washington, Missouri.

It was in the year 1838 on the 11th of May, when Reverend Father Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislenus Helias S. J. came to Westphalia in Osage County (at that time it belonged yet to Gasconade County) to establish his residence there. On the next day he crossed the Osage river and said Mass in a private house near the place where now is the Catholic Church at Taos. Father Helias was not the first priest who came to this neighborhood; already the year before a secular priest (Rev. Father Meickmann from the Rhine Province in Germany had been here, and baptized several persons, but he was not to stay.) He was ordained in Germany for the Northern Missions there, but came over to America with the Dohmen family, as their family chaplain. Father Meickmann left from here for Indiana, and died in Spencer County, Indiana.

From the year 1838 to 1842 Father Helias, as the people usually call him, had his residence at Westphalia, but his life

was that of a missionary, who had to travel from one place to another, so that he was most of the time absent. His first baptism recorded in the book is on the 26th of May, 1838, in Jefferson City, of Edmund Doherty, son of Andrew Doherty. In the year 1842 he changed his residence from Westphalia to Taos in Cole County, about eight miles east of Jefferson City. Many readers may never have heard of this place, and since some years it is not even found in Uncle Sam's Postal Guide, because the Post Office is discontinued, as we receive our mail by Rural Route No. 3 from Jefferson City. Still for many years this little place was the center of Catholic Mission Work in Central Missouri.

Father Helias visited from here regularly about twenty-four places, those in the next neighborhood every month, others twice a year. These places were:

1. Jefferson City; Mass was said and the Holy Sacraments administered in the house of Gerard Anthony Kramer, near the Capitol.

2. Cedron, at that time called Moniteau.

3. Pisgah; in the house of John Fay.

4. Boonville; Catholic families, Anthony Fox and John Lynch.

5. Pilot Grove; Anthony Remsperger, a shoemaker.

6. Franklin; Mathias Simon, a saddler.

7. Rocheport.

8. Columbia; L. Lynch.

9. Portland and Hancock Prairie.

10. Cote sans Dessein, since carried away by the Missouri river.

11. Bailey's Creek, Gasconade County.

12. Loose Creek. (1)

13. Westphalia. (1)

14. Richfountain. (1)

15. Koeltztown. (1)

16. St. Thomas, Cole County.

17. An American colony near Gasconade; Brothers Reed.

1. All flourishing congregations in Osage County.

18. A German colony in Pettis County in the house of a family Bruehl. Other places where Mass was celebrated were private houses, which would be very difficult to find out now, as he visited these places alone, and the people did not know where he was.

In the year 1838 on the 14th of October, Bishop Rosati had come from St. Louis to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in Westphalia, certainly a hard trip at that time. Again the bishop came to Taos to confirm in 1845. Among those confirmed we find names of families known yet, as: Schneider, Thessen, Kolb, Wolken, Hoffmeyer, Laux, Schwalder, Hoecker, Schell, Roecker, Ihler, Schulte, Neumeyer, Prenger, Rakers, Kerperin, Nieters, Bekel, Motschmann, Sanning, Rohling, Hermann, Schnieders.

By all his work and traveling Father Helias did not forget to learn to know his flock, therefore he took a full census of the places he visited besides his records of baptisms, marriages, burials, etc. In the year 1839 on the first of April the following Catholic families were recorded in Westphalia: Bernard Bruns, Doctor of Medicine; Geisberg, Brockman, Ottens, Grammatica, Walters, Schmitz, Otto, Debeis, Eppenhoff, Oldenlehre, Huber, Nacke, Bartmann, Eck, Knueve, Sellerhoff, Juchmann, Bose, Hagenboeck, Boessen, Linnemann, Eckmeier, Kolks, Vennewald, Lueckenhoff, Meierpeter, Scheulen, Krekel, Dohmen, Stieffermann, Goetzen, Artz, Brockerhoff, Kern, Wilhelm, Schwartz, Hasslag, Holtermann, Sudhoff, Borgmann, Kuess.

In the same year, 1839, were recorded in Jefferson City the following families: Schater, Kolkmeier, Richters, Hart, Whitnell, Hannen, Buz, Kramer, Tellmann, Monagan, Ryan, Gilmar, Corker, Bauerdick, Brand, Doherty.

It may be of interest to some to know the first settlers of other stations. In Loose Creek were living in 1839 the families of Monnier, Valentin, Cordonier, Brichaud, Besson, Saulnier, Stoffen, Farrell, Reed, Burbus.

In French Village: Peter Goujon, Louis Goujon, Angelica

Mercer, widow; Gleizar, Picqueur, Vincennes, Denoyer, Luison, Leblanc.

In Cote sans Dessein: Roye, Faye, Arnould, Nicholas, Renaud.

In Bailey's Creek: Logsdon, Simon, Welch, Howard, Folgs, Serpentin, Miller, Heth.

In Portland; Priestly Gill: in Hancock Prairie; Joseph Shannon, Thomas Flud, Anna Catharina, widow of John Preis: in Columbia; Lynch and Kitt: in Boonville; Fuchs, Weber, Fis, Pecht, Foy, Morey, Dr. Heart, Rockwie, Briel: in New Franklin; Matthias Simon.

Of course all these places were small, each for itself, but altogether numbered many Catholics, which is proved by the fact that in one year, 1843, not less than 120 baptisms were recorded. Should we count for one baptism thirty Catholic people on the average, that would mean, that 3,600 Catholics were under his care. Indeed a great number in such distance for one priest. His visits to the different places so far distant were certainly very hard in those times, when the roads were bad, and only few houses. The compass and special marks as trees, etc., had to guide his way. Sick calls were frequent and far. It is said that Father Helias many a night slept in the woods, using his saddle for a pillow. The means for his support were very scarce. The people, all new settlers, were poor. Every family should contribute \$2.00 a year, but a great many did not pay anything. Father Helias was of a noble family d'Huddeghem of Ghent in Belgium. He was a special friend and countryman of Father DeSmet, the celebrated missionary among the Indians in the West in those days, and of the General of the Jesuits in Rome, Father Roothaan. Father DeSmet came sometimes to Taos to see his friend. I have a book of "The Travels to the Rocky Mountains" by Father DeSmet, which the latter and Father Helias together presented to a friend in Taos as a remembrance, in which Father Helias calls Father DeSmet his comrade and brother, and in which he states that they both left together St. Louis on April 4, 1838. This first visit was only to look

over the place, when he also blessed in Westphalia the marriage of Gerard Henry Aufderheide with Anna Mary Schlauermann on April 30, 1838, the first marriage entered in the book.

Father Helias got some assistance from his family in Europe, for instance he built the greater part of the priest house in Taos with the money furnished by his mother, for which we have to say annually a Mass for the repose of her soul. His income all together was not much, as the books show. He as a member of a religious order had made the vow of poverty, and he remained in poverty all his lifetime. For dinner, when he was at home, he went to a neighboring family, Eck, (the second husband of the lady was Beckhart); breakfast and supper he took at home for himself. He lived always alone, he had no housekeeping.

Father Helias traveled most on horseback, where possible on steamer up and down the Missouri river. Besides all his work Father Helias was intent to embellish the Church of his residence in Taos. His friendship with the General of the Jesuits in Rome gave him the opportunity to procure fine old paintings, real works of art, from Rome. Most important are the paintings now used as centerpieces on our altars; Christ on the Flagellation Pillar, full length on the main altar, a work of the sixteenth century; and two half lengths on the side altars. St. Francis Xavier, to whom our church is dedicated, and St. Francis of Assisi (both looking up into heaven in ecstasy). Both pieces are companions taken from some old altar, and were declared originals of Guido Reni by Hoffmann of St. Louis, who has restored them.

As the pioneers of that time were of different nations, it was well that Father Helias spoke several languages, as French, English, German, Flemish, besides Latin, which latter every Catholic priest has to know. Although he could seldom stay at home, he did not neglect the instruction of the children, so he started a Catholic school in Taos, and appointed a male teacher by the name of Meyer, who died here. So the Catholics only follow their old tradition when they establish

and support their own schools, elementary and higher, though they have to pay taxes at the same time for the public schools. With the church was also connected a graveyard for the Catholics at every Station or Mission. At every place was a book, in which the burials, many of course in the absence of the pastor, had to be recorded. These records of burial are lost.

The records of baptisms and marriages were not kept separately for each place, but entered in the common books at the return from a mission. The number of marriages were in 1838, 3; in 1839, 8; in 1840, 13; in 1841, 16; in 1842, 7; in 1843, 22; in 1844, 26; in 1845, 23; in 1846, 16; in 1847, when Westphalia had its own priest for Osage County, 12. The number of baptisms were, in 1837, 2; in 1838, 20, two of these yet by Father Meickmann; in 1839, 35; in 1840, 33; in 1841, 60; in 1842, 54; in 1843, 120; in 1844, 75; in 1846, 108; in 1847, 39.

From this we can see how the country was growing, until at last the work was too much for one priest. The first relief came to Father Helias when on December 19, 1846, Father J. Koetting came to Westphalia to take charge of the congregations in Osage County: Westphalia, Loose Creek, Richfountain, Koeltztown; and St. Thomas in Cole County. He stayed to July, 1848, when he was called by his superiors to another place; he died only a few years ago. He was followed by Father Ehrensberger. As the work grew ever more, to him were sent several assistants, always one at a time, as the Reverend Father John Bapt. Goeldin, Franz Xavier Kalcher and Martin Seisl, all of the Society of Jesus. From October, 1856, Father A. Eisvogel, S. J., was pastor in Westphalia, where he died in 1860. His assistants were first Father N. Buschots, then Father H. van Mierlo, and lastly Father G. C. Bruehl, all of the same order. Since April, 1861, Father J. B. Goeldin was pastor; his first assistant was Father Wm. Niederkorn, the other Father P. M. Grietens, who was afterwards sent to Washington, Missouri, whence he returned to Belgium. Other assistants in Westphalia were Reverend Father Peter Paul von Haza Radlitz, S. J., and Frederick Hagemann, who was

later pastor of St. Joseph's Church in St. Louis, and then Master of Novices in Florissant, St. Louis County. Reverend Father Wm. Niederkorn, S. J., was appointed pastor in September, 1861, with the assistants Father Michael Haering, S. J., and Father Martin Seisl. The latter became afterwards pastor in Washington, Missouri, where he built that new splendid church. From September, 1881, to September, 1883, had the office of pastor Father Peter Krier, S. J.; he was assisted by Father Ganzer and Father Francis Valazza, S. J. the latter is now pastor of St. Joseph's Church in St. Louis. This work was too much for the Jesuit Fathers, as ever more priests were required. Therefore they gave up one congregation after another and secular priests took their place. Thus Reverend Father F. A. Diepenbrock was the first secular priest who took charge of the congregation in Westphalia in September, 1883, and he is staying there to the present day.

After Westphalia and Osage County were taken off, Father Helias kept the other places until the 18th of January, 1849. To Loose Creek in Osage County came as pastor Father J. P. Buschots, S. J., and held his place to November, 1865. He was followed by Father Wm. Niederkorn from March, 1866, to September, 1871; by him the new brick church in Loose Creek was built. Father von Haza Radlitz was appointed pastor in September, 1871; in December, 1881, Father P. A. Krier, S. J., took his place and remained to September, 1885. He built the fine priest's residence of solid limestone. In September, 1885, Father Franz Braun, S. J., came to Loose Creek to arrange matters to give over the congregation to a secular priest. He wrote a book on the history of the Catholic Missions in Central Missouri, which so far is not published. The first secular priest was Father John Gruender, who had been in Taos after the death of Father Helias. He died at Loose Creek March 29, 1909; his successor is Father John Bachmeyer to the present day.

The records in the Chancery of the Diocese kept in St. Louis state that as early as 1831 a Jesuit Father Felix L. Verreydt came over from St. Charles to say the first Mass in

Jefferson City, and again it was visited a second time by a Jesuit Father (name not given) in 1836. Probably there may have been another Father visiting in the intervening period. The first residing priest in Jefferson City was Father James S. Murphy, like his successor, a secular priest. He had come from Ireland and was sent to Jefferson City by Archbishop P. R. Kendrick in July, 1846, and remained until December, 1848, when he was transferred to Lexington, Missouri. On account of the troubles of the Know-Nothingism in the 50's he returned to Dublin and died as chaplain in a convent in that city. His successor Father Joseph Meister came to Jefferson City in March, 1849, as pastor of St. Peter's Church and remained to the end of August, 1853. Then followed for a short while Reverend Joseph Blaarer, a native of Switzerland like his predecessor, from October, 1853, to the end of May, 1854, when he returned to Europe. The next pastor was Reverend Wm. Walsh who had come from Ireland. He had charge of the parish from July, 1854, until January, 1863. Under his pastorate the Missouri Pacific Railroad was built and Father Walsh took care of the welfare of the souls of the laborers on that road. From January, 1863, Reverend Jacob Meller officiated as pastor to March, 1875, whence he was transferred to St. Charles and finally returned to the Rhine Province in Germany where he was born. His successor was Father Henry Meurs, who after having founded the parish of Glasgow and having been pastor in Boonville, stayed in Jefferson City from March, 1875, for nearly one year and a half, when he died there. His remains have the honor to rest in the church before the high altar. Then came the best known, Reverend O. J. S. Hoog, who remained the longest time and worked most successfully. Under him the beautiful new brick church, pastorate and school house were erected and the congregation increased fast in numbers. He arrived in September, 1876, and held this charge to 1904, when he was made Vicar General by Most Reverend Archbishop Glennon and appointed pastor of the church of "Our Lady of Perpetual Succor" in St.

Louis, where he resides now. (x) The present pastor of Jefferson City is Father Joseph Selinger, D. D., who had been for a while assistant to Father Hoog, was then Professor of Dogmatics in St. Francis Seminary near Milwaukee, and came back as pastor in Jefferson City to succeed Father Hoog.

At present there are thus many flourishing Catholic congregations with their residing priests, which formerly were stations of Taos. Many of these daughter churches have outgrown the mother church in number and importance. Taos is to the present day only a country congregation, yet it keeps as remembrance, the oldest records of all the churches named.

I had the good luck to get a good old small portrait of Father Helias from the old lady to whom he went for dinner. This portrait I have enlarged. It shows a very venerable man, with kind looks, but strong characteristic features. His figure was tall, slender, his face long and thin, his eyes penetrating. He was known and liked both by Catholics and non-Catholics. All who knew him, speak of him yet with highest esteem. The Knights of Columbus of Jefferson City call their branch after him, and have his portrait in their hall.

Father Helias had a strong constitution which allowed him to continue his labors for many years. Born in Ghent in Belgium on August 3, 1796, he was about forty-two years of age when he came in May, 1838, to Westphalia. He died August 11th, 1874, at the age of 78 years. He died suddenly by apoplexy as he had expected, and was prepared for it. He was found near his residence in the yard lying dead, his pipe beside him, in the morning about ten o'clock. A singular fact proved that death did not come to him unaware. He had written with his own hand the remembrance of his death in German, English and Flemish, and had distributed them among his people and to his special friends, telling them to add the date after his death. The text in Flemish is:

"*Bid voor de Ziele van P. Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislenus Helias, S. J., missionarius. Geboren te Gent den 3.*

x. Just now transferred to St. Peter and Paul's church in place of the celebrated Rev. Falser Giller, who died lately.

Aug. 1796, sterft in America in volle overgering aen den wil Gods. (den 11. Aug., 1874. R. I. P.) Ziet toe, waekt en bidt, want gy weet niet, wanneer den tyd kommen zāl. Mar. 13. 33. (1)

He found his resting place amongst his flock, as had been his desire, in the graveyard near the Catholic church in Taos. The congregation honored his memory by a monument. An obelisk crowned with a cross marks the place where he awaits the glorious resurrection together with his grateful people, for which he prayed and worked so much. He has sown the good seed with tears, others now reap the fruits with joy.

After the death of Father Helias came as pastor to Taos Reverend John Gruender, a secular priest. He was born in Dringenberg in Prussia September 2, 1842, came to America in December, 1864, was ordained priest the 19th of July, 1866, in St. Louis, and had been pastor in Germantown, Henry County, then in Koeltztown, Osage County, whence he came to Taos. Here he stayed to December, 1885, when he followed the Jesuits in Loose Creek, Osage County, where he died last year, as has been said before. Father Helias in his last years had been old and weak, so Father Gruender as a young man brought new life into the parish. He built a new school house, improved the priest's house and built a new larger brick church.

His successor is the writer of this article, who was born as son of an elementary teacher in Ramsdorf in Westphalia, Prussia, December 16, 1845, studied in Muenster, and came to America in September, 1869. He continued his studies with the Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore, was ordained December 17, 1870, by Bishop Baltes in Alton, and had located in Franklin, Cape Girardeau, and St. Genevieve Counties before he

1. Pray for the soul of Father Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislennus Helias, S. J., a missionary. Born in Ghent, August 3, 1796, died in America on full submission to the will of God (August 11, 1874). May he rest in peace! Take ye heed, watch and pray, for ye know not, when the time will come. Mark 13:33.

came to his present charge in 1885. He is only the third pastor in Taos since 1838.

JOSEPH H. SCHMIDT.

Father Joseph H. Schmidt, since writing the foregoing article has contributed the following note:

"The following notice was found in the book in Westphalia written by the own hand of Rev. Father Hellas S. J. in Latin:

"Ab initio foundationis Missionis Missouriianae S. J., Centralis Comitatus Osage non ita nuncupabatur, sed Comitatus Gasconade, et in se continebat utrumque comitatum et partem aliorum Comitatum. Sub antiquo Regimine Hispanorum et Gallorum Districtus iste nuncupabatur Parochia St. Josephi et continebat omnes Comitatus in utraque Missouri ripa sitos in Centro Status istius. Caput istius jurisdictionis, in quo et Judex et Registrator publicus degebat, erat 'Cote-sans-dessein', oppidum jam Missouri undis submersum, illic et Terra pro Ecclesia et Caemeterium cum Cruce ferrea jam consecratum a Catholicis istius Guberniis donata meo primo adventu reperiri poterat. Nunc paucissimae familiae Catholicae omnino neglectae reperiuntur.

This is in English:

"From the beginning of the establishment of the Central Missouri Mission of the Jesuits Osage County was not called by that name, but Gasconade County, and included both Counties and a part of other Counties. Under the old Spanish and French Government that District was called 'St. Joseph's Parish' and contained all the Counties on both sides of the Missouri river in the center of that State. The seat of the Administration, where also the Judge and public Registrar were living, was 'Cote-sans-dessein', a town which has been overflowed by the waters of the Missouri; where also the land for the Church, and the consecrated Graveyard with the iron cross, granted by those Catholic Governments could yet be found at the time of my first visit. Now there are found very few Catholic families, who are not cared for at all."

It must be confessed that this establishment of a parish west of St. Charles before the Purchase is not mentioned in other accounts, nor are there evidences of settlement in Central Missouri at such an early date. Until further evidence is forthcoming it must be assumed that so much of Father Hellas' note rested on local tradition.

THE BATTLE OF KIRKSVILLE.

AUGUST 6, 1862.

In order to understand the significance of the battle of Kirksville it is necessary to give in brief outline the general situation in the state from the outbreak of the war to the day of the engagement.

In the election of 1860, Missouri cast her electoral votes for Douglas for President, but elected Jackson, a southern rights man as Governor, and Reynolds, another southern rights man as Lieutenant Governor. The Legislature elected at this time met in January, 1861, and through a combination made between the Douglas men and the southern rights men, a Speaker was elected who agreed with the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor in politics. During January and February of that year six southern states followed South Carolina in seceding from the Union. Under the influence of these acts of secession the Legislature ordered that the people should elect representatives to a State Convention which should decide whether the State should stay in the Union or not. To the great disgust and disappointment of the southern sympathizers in the Legislature and elsewhere, the election returns showed that not a single member of the secession party had been elected, though a few believers in states rights had been elected. The Convention after discussing matters for some time, finally voted in March not to secede. This was followed by futile attempts by Governor Jackson to take the State out of the Union anyhow. How Camp Jackson was taken by General Lyon, how the effort to effect peace between the different parties failed, how Governor Jackson abandoned Jefferson City, how he defeated Sigel at Carthage, how he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to secure assistance from the Confederate Government, how the State Convention in its second session deposed him and appointed Hamilton R. Gamble in his stead,

how the Confederates won the battle of Wilson's Creek in August and the battle of Lexington in September, how the subsequent victories of the Federals in the next few months culminated in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March, 1862, thereby determining the course of the State with reference to the great question of secession—all these things need not be detailed here. But as we approach nearer to the battle of Kirksville in August, 1862, it is necessary to note somewhat more carefully the events that took place.

In June, 1862, all of Missouri except the three southwest counties was erected into a military district called the District of Missouri, and was placed under the command of General Schofield. This district was divided into five divisions. The Northeastern Division was placed under Col. McNeil of St. Louis, his effective force being at that time 1,250 men. (1)

At about this time the Federals began to realize what the plans of the Confederates were after the battle of Pea Ridge, and how those plans were working out. As has already been intimated this battle put an end forever to the Confederates' plan of taking the State out of the Union, but they did not give up hope as yet. Many Missouri men were sent back home after Pea Ridge to recruit soldiers for the Confederate army, and the forces that were to be thus raised were to be used in gaining the State for the southern cause. Places of rendezvous were appointed and men began to assemble in large numbers at these places in May and June. (2) The order for a general enrollment which was issued by Governor Gamble in July (3), served to send many men into these recruiting camps in order that they might escape the State militia service. (4)

Among those who were recruiting in Northeast Missouri were Joseph C. Porter, Poindexter, Franklin, and McCullough. (5) Porter had been elected Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment raised in Lewis County in July, 1861, and had taken

1. War of the Rebellion; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. Mudd, *With Porter in North Missouri*, Wash., 1909, 241.

5. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 12.

an active part in the campaigns in Missouri in that year and had been at the battle of Pea Ridge. He was sent back to his home in Lewis County by General Price after that battle to recruit troops (6), and some time in April or May he established a camp on the North Fabius River near Monticello. (7) To this camp a goodly number of recruits came.

When it became apparent to the Federals what was going on under Porter and others, every step was taken to prevent their plans from succeeding. Gen. Schofield caused all boats and other means of crossing the Missouri River which were not under guard of his troops, to be destroyed. This was to prevent any considerable number of Confederate troops from crossing the Missouri and proceeding south to join the main army. Meanwhile Federal troops were directed against the masses of Confederate recruits that were being collected so as to crush them before they became too large. (8) As Col. McNeil was in command of the Northeast Division of the District of Missouri, the attack upon these Confederate bands under Porter and the other leaders already mentioned was largely directed by him.

To escape attack and to increase the number of his enlistments, Porter moved from his camp on the North Fabius near Monticello to Memphis, which he took on July 13. (9) For nearly a month from this time on Porter was on the move almost constantly with the Federal forces generally in close pursuit. As this month of marching and fighting culminated in the battle of Kirksville, it is well to note it in detail.

It seems that Porter left Memphis a few hours after he entered it, going to Downings eight miles away where he camped that night. On the day following his departure Col. McNeil with three or four of his officers arrived at this place. (10) After leaving Memphis Porter became aware that the Federals were pursuing him, and so planned an ambush at a nearby place called Vassar's Hill. As a result he badly

6. Mudd, 25-26.

7. Ibid, 36.

8. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 12-13.

9. Mudd, 53 ff.

10. Mudd, 64.

crippled Major Clopper's battalion of Merrill's Horse on July 18. (11) Porter's men knew this engagement as Oak Ridge, and Clopper's men as Pierce's Mill. (12)

After this engagement Porter continued his way south through Knox and Shelby Counties. (13) At Florida, Monroe County, a skirmish took place on July 22, between Porter and Major Caldwell of the Third Iowa Cavalry. Caldwell was forced to fall back while Porter continued south. (14) Caldwell resumed his pursuit a little later and came upon Porter at Santa Fe and was defeated in skirmishes on July 24. Here he was compelled to fall back again while Porter advanced farther south through Audrain County. (15)

Porter left his camp in Audrain County on July 25 and moved west to the boundary line between Callaway and Boone Counties. He then turned east and came to Boone's Spring, nine miles north of Fulton. Here he was reinforced by men from Capt. Frost's and Capt. Cobb's companies, so that he had in all 260 men. (16) The expected attack from the Federals did not materialize, so Porter proceeded down the Auxvasse River to Moore's Mill, about seven miles east of Fulton. Here he was opposed by Col. Guitar who had advanced into Callaway County from Jefferson City, having been advised by General Schofield as to the movements of Porter. Guitar's forces were much larger than Porter's and were therefore able to win a victory which turned Porter back from his movement south. (17) Notwithstanding this serious check Porter, according to his recent biographer, accomplished a great deal in fifteen days, having marched five hundred miles, captured one town, parolled one hundred of the enemy, fought four battles, and captured a lot of arms. (18)

After Moore's Mill Porter turned north, sending detachments to Paris and Canton and thereby taking those pla-

11. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 163-4; Mudd, 82 ff.

12. Mudd, 101.

13. *Ibid.*, 113 ff.

14. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 172-3; Mudd, 119 ff.

15. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 3; Mudd, 148 ff.

16. Mudd, 159-60.

17. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 184-7; Mudd, 159 ff.

18. Mudd, 199-200.

ces. (19) From Paris he went to Newark, Knox County, where he captured Capt. Lear and his company. (20.) Meanwhile Col. McNeill was following him in hot pursuit. Finding it advisable to keep on the move, Porter withdrew to the north from Newark, leaving that town just shortly before McNeill came up. Instead of pushing the pursuit any farther at that time, McNeill remained at Newark a few days awaiting reinforcements. Porter continued his march until he reached the western border of Lewis County where he was reinforced by the battalion of Col. Cyrus Franklin who had been sent to capture Canton. With this battalion was Col. Frisby H. McCullough of whom we shall hear more shortly. (21) Porter then called a conference of his officers to decide on what should be done.

The ultimate object of all these movements of Porter was, as has been said, to gather a large army and move it to Arkansas where it could join the forces that were gathering there. The problem was how to get across the Missouri river, and it has already been noted how the Federals had anticipated this problem and made the crossing of that river very difficult by destroying the means of transportation and by patrolling the river. Nevertheless the Confederates did not despair of crossing the river, and in order that they might conceal their plans and draw the Federals away from the Missouri, a feint in force was to be made in the northern part of the state by Porter's forces, which feint would perhaps involve a bloody battle. (22.) It seems that Memphis had been thought of as the proper place at which to concentrate the Confederate forces and there bring on a battle, but while Porter and his men were deliberating on what they should do, a courier came from Captain Tice Cain to the effect that he and his Schulyer County company had entered Kirksville and taken it. (23.) Kirksville had been held for some days previous to Cain's arrival by a company of newly enrolled militia (Company 8, 56th Regi-

19. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 212; Mudd, 246.

20. Mudd, 242-3, 246-7.

21. Mudd, 247.

22. Ibid, 248.

23. Ibid, 248.

ment) under Capt. James A. Smith, but this company had been ordered by Col. Gilstrap, who was in command at Macon to come to that place and avoid the danger which it was thought was threatening it at Kirksville. (24) Hardly had this company left before Capt. Cain came in and sent a courier to Porter telling him what he had done. This news caused Porter and his men to decide in favor of moving to the west and joining Cain at Kirksville near which place they might bring on an engagement.

The combined force under Porter numbered about two thousand. Of this number only about five hundred were well armed, while five hundred more were only fairly armed, and the rest, fully one-half of the entire number, were completely unarmed. (25) The presence of so many unarmed men was doubtless due to the fact that Porter was gathering up recruits many of whom had no arms of their own and would not get any until they reached the main Confederate army in Arkansas.

This conference of Porter and his men seems to have been held in the northeastern part of Knox County near the North Fabius River. The Federal forces were crowding in upon Porter very rapidly. On Sunday, August 3, they caught up with him, but after reconnoitering for a while decided not to give battle and so withdrew into camp. (26) Later that same day Porter and his force started towards Kirksville which place they reached Wednesday forenoon, August 6, and made their entrance from the northeast. (27)

Seeing how hard pressed he was, Porter decided to give battle at Kirksville. (28) It has been said by some that he made a mistake in not going on a little farther west and making his stand in the Chariton River bottom; it has been claimed that his chances would have been a great deal better there than in the town. Parties who were witnesses of the battle and who are still living in Kirksville say that Porter

24. History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties, Chicago, 1888, 304.

25. Mudd, 247.

26. Ibid, 252.

27. Ibid, 252.

28. Ibid, 257.

was altogether too much pushed to get beyond the town, and could not have chosen to go farther if he had wished. Warning the people to get out of town, Porter ordered some of his troops to barricade themselves in the houses, (29) and drew up his main line of defense behind a rail fence that ran along where the Wabash Railroad now is, just west of the central part of the town.

Kirksville was then a very small village, extending from High street on the east to the line of the present Wabash Railroad on the west, and a few blocks from the square to the north and the south. The population was about seven hundred. The census of 1860 gave it only 658. (30)

As has already been intimated, Porter had been pursued for some time by McNeil. McNeil had started the pursuit on July 29, the day after the battle of Moore's Mill. (31) According to his report he had started out from Palmyra on July 29, and after passing through Clinton, Monroe County, he came to Paris, which place he found Porter had just vacated. (32) The pursuit from there to Kirksville via Newark has already been detailed. It should be added that McNeil remarks in his report that the pursuit from Newark to Kirksville was delayed somewhat by the worn out condition of his men and horses, by the character of the country, and by the burning of the bridges and the destruction of the fords by Porter who was in retreat before him. (33)

McNeil's forces arrived at the edge of Kirksville about ten o'clock on the morning of August 6. The main column and artillery had been preceded by the advance guard composed of detachments of the Second and Eleventh Missouri State Militia under Major Benjamin. This advance guard occupied the northeast approach of the town, halting at the Parcelle place, afterwards known as the Kellogg place, and now the Kinloch farm. When McNeil learned that Porter had halted in the town, he ordered

29. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 213.

30. Eight Census, 1860, Population, p. 288.

31. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 212.

32. Ibid, 213.

33. Ibid, 213.

all his troops to hurry up into line and deployed them on the northern and eastern sides of the town. Lieut. Col. Shaffer was put in command of the right wing which was composed of the Merrill Horse under Major Clopper, detachments of the Second and Eleventh Cavalry of the Missouri State Militia under Major Benjamin, and a section of the Third Indiana Battery under Lieut. Armington. Major Caldwell was put in command of the left wing which was composed of his own command and a detachment of the First Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers under Major Cox. A section of the steel battery of two pounder howitzers in charge of Sergeant West and ten men of Company C, Second Missouri State Militia, acted as did the Indiana Artillery under Capt. Barr of the Merrill Horse. (34)

In order to ascertain the exact position of the enemy in the town, McNeil called for an officer and a squad who should charge into the town and draw the enemy's fire. Lieut. Cowdrey of the Merrill Horse and a squad of eight men were detailed to execute this order. Cowdrey approached the public square, and according to McNeil's report, entered the square and passed around it, coming out at the other corner. (35) According to eyewitnesses still living in Kirksville, this squad came close to the northwest corner of the square but never entered it because of the heavy fire that was being poured into it. The charge revealed what had been sought for, but it was accomplished at some loss. According to McNeil's report two of the squad were mortally wounded, three slightly wounded, and five horses killed. (36) Other reports make the loss still greater while some make it less.

The enemy having been discovered the attack commenced. The artillery of five guns, planted near what was then called the Cumberland Academy, threw shot and shell into cornfields, gardens, and houses where Porter's men were. The dismounted men were thrown forward and they seized the outer line of sheds and houses on the north and east sides of the

34. *Ibid.*, 213.

35. *Ibid.*, 213-4; Mudd, 255-6.

36. *Ibid.*, 213-4, 217.

town. Meanwhile a large body of Porter's men who had been in a cornfield in the southeast part of town was driven out. As the Federal forces moved towards the public square the two wings met and succeeded in taking the court house. As Porter yielded ground, he concentrated his forces along the main line of defense which had been stationed on the western edge of the town. From a position where the Wabash depot now stands he poured a galling fire into McNeil's men; but McNeil's right wing moved against this line and drove it away to the west, while the left wing took full possession of the southern part of the town. The battle lasted about three hours, from about ten in the morning to one in the afternoon. (37)

The pursuit was continued through the woods that lay to the west of the town and many horses and large quantities of arms, clothing and camp equipage were thus found. Major Clopper was ordered to pursue the fleeing Confederates with a body of Merrill's Horse, and he is reported by McNeil as having done so until he felt the enemy had crossed the Chariton. (38) It is the opinion however of certain citizens of Kirksville who were witnesses of the battle, that the pursuit was not kept up very long, for if it had been the whole of Porter's force, they claim, would have been captured. At any rate McNeil explains his failure to pursue any farther than was done, to the hunger and fatigue of his troops, to the large numbers of the enemy, and to the fear that the enemy might suddenly fall upon his rear. (39)

It is impossible to state with absolute accuracy the number of men engaged in this battle or the number of killed, wounded and captured. Col. McNeil in his report dated September 17, 1862, enumerated the forces under his command, but though they amounted to more than one thousand he says that only about five hundred of his men took part in the battle. The others were engaged in guarding the army train and in taking care of the horses of the men who were in the firing

37. Ibid, 214.

38. Ibid, 214.

39. Ibid, 214.

line. (40) He reported the Federal casualties as five killed and thirty-two wounded. (41) According to an account of the battle given in the History of Shelby County there were six men killed and their names were as follows: Capt. Mayne of the Third Iowa; A. H. Waggoner, Mathias Olstein and Sylvester Witham, privates of Company C, Merrill's Horse; Sergeant William Bush of Company B, Ninth Missouri State Militia; H. H. Moore, of Company E, First Missouri State Militia. (42) These names have never been verified by the writer from official records. Col. Wells Blodgett in his address delivered at the unveiling of the McNeil monument in Belle fontaine Cemetery in St. Louis in 1894, said that the Federal loss was twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. What his source of information was is not known. (43) Col. McNeil was slightly wounded in the head during the engagement.

While it is impossible to ascertain the exact figures for the Federal side, the above estimates are undoubtedly more nearly correct than any that may be given for the Confederate side. Porter's men numbered about two thousand, but not over five hundred, if that many, took part in the battle. (44) Those that were unarmed or poorly armed hurried on to the woods west of the town before the battle began. The Confederates killed are estimated all the way from thirty-five to one hundred and fifty, the wounded from seventy-five to four hundred, and the captured from fifty to two hundred and fifty. McNeil in his report said that about one hundred and fifty were killed, three hundred to four hundred wounded, and forty-seven taken prisoner. (45) He had an excellent opportunity of knowing the situation as he stayed in the town several days after the battle, but we can not take his estimates as being as correct as an official count would have been.

On the day after the battle, the people of the town were ordered by Col. McNeil to bury the Confederate dead. According to the testimony of several citizens of the town who

40. Ibid, 212.

41. Ibid, 215.

42. History of Shelby County, quoted in Mudd's With Porter, 256.

43. Address of Col. Wells H. Blodgett, St. Louis, 1894, p. 7.

44. Mudd, 247.

45. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 315.

respondee to the order and who are still living there, the bodies of twenty-six men who were killed in the battle were gathered up and put in one long grave in the cemetery lying west of the square. But according to Mr. S. M. Johnston who was in the battle under McNeil and who has long resided in Kirksville since the war, there were three graves dug and thirty-seven Confederates were put in the one dug in a ravine west of the present Wabash depot, twenty-six in the one in the cemetery, and over twenty in the one to the northwest of the cemetery. This did not include the prisoners who were executed after the battle. As yet the writer of this article has found no confirmation of the statement of Mr. Johnston about there being three graves. It is agreed however by all that many of those who were buried in the cemetery were removed by their friends to other places as convenience permitted.

Among the Confederate killed was Lyeurgus Bozarth of Adair County who is said to have joined Porter the morning of the battle. He was of the well known family of Bozarth's who were among the first settlers of the county and whose relatives were generally ardent unionists. He did not die for several days after the battle and was buried in a separate grave in the cemetery. (46)

The condition of the Confederate wounded after the battle was something frightful. Porter came into town with practically nothing in the way of surgical instruments or medical supplies. Dr. A. P. Willard who then owned a drug store in Kirksville and is yet a resident of the place, says that Porter came to him on arriving in town and forced him to give up his surgical instruments. Dr. Willard says that he was promised the safe return of the instruments, but that he never saw them again. He is under the impression that Porter wanted to arrange for a hospital at the Isom Dodson place which stood southwest of the town to take care of the wounded after the battle. Even if that were the case the rout that ensued after the battle made whatever arrangements Porter might have made quite

useless. The Confederate wounded were therefore in a deplorable condition. The townspeople were naturally afraid to render assistance as they felt that they might be dealt with as rendering help to the enemy of the victors. Moreover the local doctors were helpless to do anything as the only surgical instruments in the town had been taken away and nobody knew anything about where they were. Whatever of assistance was finally rendered is due to Mr. John L. Porter who was then Deputy Circuit Clerk and Recorder of Adair County and who is yet a citizen of Kirksville. He was a southern sympathizer but was acquainted with McNeil. On coming back to town late in the afternoon after the battle was over he saw the dreadful condition of affairs, and went to McNeil and begged for help. McNeil detailed Surgeon Lyons to do the work. Lyons called in Dr. Willard to assist him, and for two days these two men amputated limbs and performed other surgical operations upon the wounded who had been brought to what was known as the Ivie building, which stood on the northeast corner of the square where Griffith now has his grocery store. The amputated limbs were thrown out the window of the building into the alley, and it is said that a cart load accumulated there before they could be taken off and buried. The Ivie building was not sufficient to accommodate the wounded so a great many were taken care of at other places in the town.

The Federal wounded were cared for at the Cumberland Academy and at the Parcells place east of town until they could be brought in.

Before the battle began, the citizens acting on the warning of Porter, had very generally fled. Many of them fled to the north and several on reaching a place of reasonable safety from danger climbed up on the roof of a barn and witnessed the battle. Had there not been a general desertion of the town many of the citizens would have been killed. As it was one woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Coots was mortally wounded. She and her husband lived in a house just northwest of the square. When the battle began they took refuge in their cellar. Ac-

counts differ as to how she was killed. According to one she was killed after she left the cellar and gone back into the house, the battle being at that time only about one-half over. According to another, some Confederates tried to take refuge in the Coots cellar while she was still in it and she was shot as she started to come out. She lived only a few days after she was shot. (47)

The day after the battle fifteen of the Confederates who had been captured in the fight were executed on the spot where the original Wabash depot afterwards first stood, that is about two hundred yards south of the present depot. They were executed on the charge of having violated their paroles. (48) They were William Bates, R. M. Galbreath, Lewis Rollins, William Wilson, Columbus Harris, Reuben Thomas or Thompson, Thomas Webb, and Reuben Green of Monroe County; James Christian, David Wood, and Bennett Hayden of Shelby County; William Sallee, and Hamilton Brannon of Marion County, and John Kent of Adair County. (49)

On the second day after the battle, Col. Frisby McCullough was likewise executed. His case seems to be somewhat different from that of the other fifteen. He had been a very successful recruiting officer in North Missouri, and was at the time of his execution an officer in the Missouri State Guards, a military force that had been organized under Governor Jackson for the purpose of taking the State out of the Union. (50) McCullough had been operating with Porter only a very short time before the battle of Kirksville, having joined him after he had left Newark on his way to Kirksville. Almost immediately after the battle he had become so ill he could not keep up with the command. Declining the escort which Porter offered him, he started to go to his home in Marion County. Near Edina he was captured by the State Militia and taken to that place. Knowing that some drastic punishment would be likely meted out to him, he asked to be sent to Palmyra; but instead he was brought to Kirksville by Capt. James

47. History of Adair County, 307.

48. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 863.

49. History of Shelby County, p. 757, quoted in Mudd, 342.

50. Mudd, 274-6.

S. Best whose command was escorting McNeil's supply train, which had come into Edina on its way to Kirksville just after McCullough had been captured. (51) According to one of McCullough's friends who wrote after the event, he was paraded up and down the streets of Kirksville amid the jeers and shouts of joy of the Federals. (52) The writer of this article has had this statement confirmed by at least one of the spot where the fifteen had been shot the day before and standing up before his executioners and looking them steadily in the face he gave them the signal to fire. His remarkable bravery excited the admiration of friend and foe alike. (53)

There is some dispute as to the procedure which led up to the execution of McCullough. Col. McNeil in a letter to a friend some time after the event said: "McCullough was tried by a commission of which Lieut. Col. Shaffer was President, under Order No. 2 of General Halleck, and Nos. 8 and 18 of General Schofield. He had no commission except a printed paper authorizing the bearer to recruit for the Confederate army. He was found guilty of bushwhacking and of being a guerilla. He was a brave fellow and a splendid specimen of manhood. I would gladly have spared him had duty permitted. As it was he suffered the same fate that would have fallen to you or me if we had been found recruiting within the Confederate lines. He met a soldier's death as became a soldier." (54)

Dr. Joseph A. Mudd who was with Porter up to and including the battle of Moore's Mill, has recently written a book entitled "With Porter in North Missouri," which has been extensively used in the preparation of this article. In his book the author has condemned in no uncertain terms the execution of McCullough. He doubts the statement of McNeil that a trial was held at all, and supports his view by the fact that the Government records contain no account of it whatsoever. He moreover points out that in McNeil's report made

51. Ibid, 269.

52. Ibid, 270.

53. Palmyra Courier, Aug. 15, 1862, reprinted in War of Rebellion Records Ser. II, Vol. IV, p. 885-7.

54. History of Lewis County, quoted in Mudd, 272.

on September 17, 1862, mention is made of the execution of the fifteen prisoners taken at the battle of Kirksville who were charged with having broken their paroles, but no mention is made of the execution of McCullough nor of any trial. He even goes farther and doubts whether any of these fifteen were guilty of having violated their paroles as they were charged. (55) It might be further said that General Sterling Price said that he thought he had given McCullough a commission to recruit troops at Springfield the preceding winter but he did not know whether he ever acted under it or not. (56) It is not known whether General Price ever verified his statement made from memory or not.

Some other things took place which make the story sadder still. A Dr. Davis who had come into town with Porter was attempting to give some assistance to the Confederate wounded who were in the southwest part of town when Federal soldiers came up and ordered him to go with them to McNeil's headquarters. It is told that after he started to go with them he was made to run and was then shot down for running. (57) How true this part of the story is cannot be said.

To the list of fifteen who were executed on the charge of having violated their paroles there came very near being added the name of Jackson C. Oldham of Kirksville. It seems that here were two Oldhams by the same name, father and son. The father had been paroled but the son had never been. Notwithstanding this the son had been arrested and tried at Macon and executed on the charge of having violated his parole. All this had occurred before the battle of Kirksville. McNeil was about to arrest the father and execute him when Mr. John L. Porter of Kirksville intervened and assured McNeil that the elder Oldham had never violated his parole. Porter also protested that the younger Oldham had been unjustly executed. Later the older Oldham erected a monument to the memory of his son in the Kirksville cemetery on which

55. Mudd, 280.

56. War of Rebellion, Ser. II, Vol. V, 804.

57. History of Adair County, 308.

was inscribed an account of the awful mistake that was made.

As has been already said Col. McNeil made no attempt to pursue Porter and his men on the day of the battle except for a little ways west of town. He assigned as the reason for not doing so the exhausted condition of his men and horses. He went therefore into camp in Kirksville and took measures for collecting forage and supplies and for putting the men and horses in condition for pursuit a little later.

On August 7th Lieut. Col. Morsey with four hundred and twenty men of the Tenth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, and Major Rogers with the Second Battalion of the Eleventh Regiment Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, came into camp at Kirksville from the north. As McNeil was moving towards Kirksville from Newark the day before he had ordered these troops under Morsey and Rogers to move along a line north of him so as to prevent Porter from escaping into Scotland or Schuyler Counties. McNeil thinks that Porter's knowledge of this particular arrangement had obliged him to make his stand at Kirksville. The arrival of this force on the seventh swelled McNeil's command to about seventeen hundred and added to the difficulties in getting sufficient supplies. (58) However on the eighth Lieut. Hiller arrived from Palmyra by way of Edina with eight thousand rations and a good supply of horse-shoes. The escort under Capt. Best that accompanied this supply train was the one that brought McCullough a prisoner to Kirksville from Edina, as has been related. (59)

Porter's return towards the Chariton resulted in more or less disbandment. However a part at least of his forces tried to keep together, and moved in a southeasterly direction towards Macon. Near Stockton this body was attacked by a Federal force and was compelled to retreat. This was on August 8th. (60) On the next day this same body killed from ambush a hundred or more Federals under Col. McFerran while they were crossing Walnut Creek in their pursuit of the Confederates. After shelling the woods around Walnut Creek

58. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 214.

59. Ibid, 214-5.

60. Ibid, 551.

for some time, McFerran moved towards the Chariton River and at Sear's Ford (or See's Ford) skirmishing ensued. But being unable to get his artillery across the river, he was compelled to allow Porter to escape. (61) However Porter had been foiled in his attempt to cross the North Missouri Railroad (the present Wabash R. R.) so as to rally his scattered forces, and finding the way of escape to the south in a body cut off, he decided to disband his organization completely and leave each company to take care of itself. This was done on August 11th. (62)

In the month that followed, Porter managed to get a force together and on September 12th he effected the capture of Palmyra. The Confederate prisoners confined in the jail there were liberated, and the bonds that had been forced from southern sympathizers to observe their oaths of allegiance, were taken away from the Provost Marshal's office and burned. During the night of the twelfth Andrew Allsman who had been the object of much hatred on the part of the Confederates was taken from his home and murdered. Just when and how and by whom he was murdered is not definitely known. (63) In retaliation for this act ten Confederate prisoners were shot at Palmyra by order of McNeil on October 18, 1862. (64) This event has gone down in history as the Massacre of Palmyra, and served to intensify the hatred on both sides.

After the capture of Palmyra Porter marched northward into Lewis County. He was followed by McNeil and an engagement took place at Whaley's Mill on September 14, in which Porter's forces were scattered. (65) This was Porter's last engagement in North Missouri. For the next six weeks he gave himself up to the task of getting twelve hundred men through to the Confederate lines south of the Missouri. He is credited with having sent in all five thousand men from North Missouri during the year 1862. (66) He was wounded at the battle of Hartsville in Wright County, Missouri, on

61. *Ibid*, 208; Mudd, 288-9.

62. Mudd, 286.

63. *Ibid*, 292 ff.

64. Mudd, 299 ff; War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 719.

65. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 269-70; Mudd, 310-11.

66. Mudd, 311-17.

January 11, 1863, and died from the effects of the wound in camp near Batesville, Ark., on February 18, 1863, aged forty-four years. (67)

Col. McNeil served through the war and was given the title of Brigadier General shortly after the battle of Kirksville. He took an active part in the politics of the State for some time after the war. One act of his long after the war has a local bearing. At the time when the Board of Regents of the First District Normal School was considering the location of the school which the act of the General Assembly, approved in March, 1870, provided for, friends of Kirksville appealed to Gen. McNeil to use his influence in behalf of this place. Mr. W. H. Parsells of Kirksville who was a long time acquaintance of McNeil, went to him and urged that since the town had been the scene of conflict during the war it should be the place where the State should have one of its institutions. Just what actual influence McNeil exerted in the matter cannot be said; but he did write a letter to certain members of the Board who were just retiring from their positions as State officers and hence also from the Board. He died June 7, 1891, aged seventy-eight years. (70)

The battle of Kirksville was considered at the time as an engagement of considerable significance, especially by the Federal army officers. For some time, as we have seen, the Federals had been in hot pursuit of Porter and it was thought that this battle had completely ended his recruiting expedition. The reports of the Federal officers are congratulatory over their marked success in doing away with so dangerous an enemy. Lieut. Col. Shaffer said it was the most successful battle ever fought in Missouri and the victory most complete. To a very large extent their views that the battle was an important one is correct. Porter was never able to recover fully from the defeat he met at Kirksville. But it must not be lost sight of that even after this defeat he was able to keep up his recruiting to a certain extent. What he might have done if

67. Mudd, 318 ff.

75. Mudd, 308; Blodgett, Address at the Unveiling of the McNeil Monument. 3

76. War of Rebellion, Ser. L, Vol. XIII, 13, 216-7.

he had won the battle instead of losing it, is of course problematical. In the history of the desperate effort of the Confederates to force the State of Missouri out of the Union, the battle of Kirksville has an important part, and it is only as it is considered in that connection that it is given its due place in the annals of Missouri.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Indianapolis, during the holidays, and with it the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the North Central Teachers Association, also met, and as a part of one or the other of these, various conferences were held, as that of State and local historical societies, the Archivists and others. Three or four meetings were in session some of the hours, so that many papers were read on a great variety of subjects. The meeting at which the Governor of Indiana gave the welcoming address, and the president gave his presidential address, was an enjoyable one, because both of these gentlemen spoke loud enough and distinct enough to be easily heard without effort.

It is a serious defect and not at all creditable to the Association that so many of the papers that are read or the talks that are given are delivered in a very unsatisfactory manner, as to distinctness or loudness of voice, so that they can not be heard except by those on a few seats close to the reader. It is a problem why it is possible for a man to write an excellent paper, and then not realize that he is entirely out of place if he reads it so indistinctly or so low that only a few persons can get any benefit from what he says. If it shall be said that some have not the ability to make themselves heard the answer would be that they should not inflict themselves upon the members of an audience who travel long distances to hear and be benefited by what they hear.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Second Paper.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City.

Elvira G. wife of J. B. Adams born Dec 18, 1828 Died Jan. 16, 1879.

Mrs. Nancy Anderson consort of John Anderson Esq born Sept 19, 1798 died Oct 6th 1844.

Philip Henry Andrae born Dec 23, 1804 died Sept 7, 1857

Catherine Andrae born Mar. 9, 1804 died May 14, 1893.

A. G. Andrae 3d Ind Battery

Wm Andrae geboren May 5, 1817 gestorben Mch. 7, 1857.

Catherine wife of R. H. Andrews born Mar. 9, 1829 died Nov. 16, 1862.

Catherine Bare died Aug. 20 1858 aged 26 years

Benjamin Beniesford a native of Ireland who departed this life May 11th 1849 aged 28 years

Oliver P. Bompas born Sept 2, 1825 died Oct 13, 1846

Catherine W. wife of W. H. Bradbury born in Louisa Co. Va. died in Jefferson City, Mo April 29, 1881

G. W. Branham Co. D. 68 U. S. C. I.

Joseph Brenneisen died June 14, 1855 aged 64 years

David Bruce born in Rend Forse Parish of Latherson Caithness-shire Scotland died April 27, 1855 aged 35 years.

Bernard Bruns M. D. born Dec. 23, 1806 in Lohme Kingdom of Hanover died April 1, 1864

Henrietta wife of Dr. B. Bruns 1813-1899

Henry C. Brunes Capt. Co. G. 10 Mo. Vol. Cav. born April 19, 1842 killed at Iuka, Miss July 7, 1863

Eliza J. wife of Charles F. Burgez born Dec 11, 1813 died July 8, 1868

Herman Busch born Oct. 14, 1811 died Sept 2, 1883

Harden Casey who died Oct 28, 1844 aged 48 years & 6 days.

Sacred to the memory of Christopher Casey departed this life August the 2d 1840 aged 85 years

Vina Cheeny died Dec 4, 1892 aged 80 years

Mary wife of Leroy Clatterbuck & daughter of G. & F. Gray born July 4, 1809 died Jan 4, 1854

B. P. Collins died July 14, 1846 aged 42 yrs

Alexander M. Davison M. D. born Dec. 23 1813 died Mar. 5, 1889

Matilda M Davison born June 9th A. D. 1819 died October 2nd A. D. 1853

Sacred to the memory of Edward J. Davison born in Winchester, Virginia May 24, 1805 died Sept. 13th 1848

In memory of Elizabeth Alexander daughter of Wm A. & A. A. Davison born May 29th 1830 in Wheeling Va died July 31st 1840

Dr. William Armstrong Davison born in Va Aug 20, 1810 died Jan 6, 1877

Mrs. Catherine Dellinger consort of Henry Dellinger of Washington County Maryland who departed this life June 4th 1843 aged 63 years.

Joseph S. Dellinger son of Henry & Catherine Dellinger departed this life June 26 1849 aged 39 years & twenty three days

Ann Mary Dellinger born November 7th A. D. 1885 departed this life September 18th 1852

Leonard Dippold geb. 9 Mai 1824 gest. 28 Mai 1908

Catherine Dochla born 1802 died June 3, 1877

John Dochla born Aug 10, 1824 died Dec. 10, 1893

Thos. Donahoe died Feb 1, 1895 aged 64 years Late of Co. B, 26 Ohio Inf.

Sacred to the memory of Stephen C. Dorriss born Oct 14, 1792 died Jan 25, 1846

Sarah Dorriss born Ap. 4, 1796 died May 22, 1838

Henry C. Dozier born Nov 14, 1828 died March 17, 1860
Isaac Dwight born in Harner, N. Y. May 14, 1809 died Jan. 18,
1895

Elizabeth G. wife of Isaac Dwight born in Newburg N. Y.
Nov 10, 1811 died June 7, 1891

Sacred to the memory of Benjamin Evans born the 12th day of
August 1817 and died the 8th day of March 1845

Charles Feyerlein born Aug 18, 1818 died July 6, 1859

In memory of Mary Flemming born June 11, 1818 died Jan 26,
1881

Francis Geisberg was born 1816 in Oelde Prov. Westphalia
Kingdom of Prussia died Nov. 28, 1858

Casper Geisberg Priv. Co. B. S. Mo. Vol. Inf. born Sept. 30,
1841 wounded at Fort Donelson Feb 15 died March 18,
1862

Mary wife of Chesley Glover died Oct. 8, 1849 in the 87th year
of her age

Charles Gohegan born Nov. 25, 1827 died Sept 4, 1878

Henrietta his wife born Oct 25, 1827 died July 19, 1878

Job Goodall born March 20, 1797 died Aug 1, 1856 Patriot
soldier of the war 1812-1815

Sarah Embree wife of Job Goodall Sept 27, 1810 Dec 22, 1875

Margaret L. wife of Jonathan Goodwin born May 10, 1807 died
Jan. 25, 1861.

John Gordon who departed this life August the 4th 1837 aged
76 years

Catherine Gordon wife of Alex Gordon and daughter of Simon
Shell of Virginia born 15th Dec. 1797, dead 18th Dec.
1834

Casander wife of J. C. Gordon born Aug 28, 1787 died July 23,
1852 aged 65 years

Erected to the memory of David S. Green born Sept. 13th 1820
died Jan. 30th 1851

Catherine M. wife of Peleer Ham born Sept 20, 1818 died Oct
3, 1877

William Hamilton a native of Ireland who departed this life
May 11th 1849 aged 32 years

Pleasant Hough wife of Jason Harrison born Dec. 5, 1803 in Loudon Co. Va died July 31, 1898 at Jefferson City Mo.

Sacred to the memory of Isaac H. Hay born in Virginia Oct. 10th 1810 died in Vicksburg, Mississippi Feb. 24, 1849

In memory of George Welsh Haynes born June 2nd 1824 died March 10th 1846

Christian Hazen died Aug. 16, 1868 aged 54 years

Mary Anne Hennessee born in Columbia S. C. 1830 died at Jefferson City, Mo. 1856.

August Hensel born Jan 4, 1813 died Feb. 3, 1886

Rosina wife of Augustin Hensel born in France Aug 8, 1813 died Oct. 15, 1875

Ann Mary Hofius born June 17, 1787 died Sept 9, 1855

Mary G. Hough born in Loudon County, Va Dec 25, 1814 died Jan 17, 1876

George W. Hough born in Loudon County Va, April 17, 1808 died Feb. 13, 1878

Mary Hough born Sept. 20, 1776 died Apr 13, 1845

In memory of Paulina Jones died Nov. 8, 1862 aged 34 years

In memory of Caroline J. wife of M. L. Julian born July 5, 1824 died Jan. 28, 1871

John H. Karges born Aug. 22, 1801 died Oct 21, 1870

Christian H. Kiessling born Jan. 2, 1817, died July 10, 1856

William Kinney died Mar. 10, 1873 aged 74 years

John M. & Julin C. Koecher born Aug 7, 1822 Dec 11, 1823 died Jan 8, 1908 Mar 2, 1901

Kunigunda wife of L. H. A. Krouse M. D. born Mar. 9, 1827 died Oct 26, 1901

Ludwig H. A. Krause M. D. born June 13 ,1818 died April 11, 1862

Lucindo daughter of D. & M. Lee born Sept. 18, 1813 died Sept 5, 1861

Solomon Lehr born Oct 21 1812 died Aug 11th 1840

Prosper Le Page born in France, May 28, 1818 died Mar. 26, 1885

Elizabeth his wife born July 10, 1833

Chas. F. Lohman born in Prussia Dec 26, 1817 died July 28, 1879

Henrietta wife of Chas. F. Lohman born in Weimer, Saxony Sept 15, 1823 died Jan. 26, 1892

Sacred to the memory of Peter Lyons native of England born 1805 died 11th September, 1845

Julia W. McConnell mother of Geo. J. Vaughan born Feb. 13, 1809 died Oct 27, 1875

James McCubin died Aug. 26, 1856 aged about 45 years

Peter McLaine departed this life May 9, 1869 aged 68 years

Margaret McLaine consort of Peter McLaine died Aug 28th A. D. 1851 aged 50 years A Christian

Maria L. Miller consort of Thomas Miller born 24th day of January 1818 departed this life 30th July 1851

William Miller born Jan 19, 1832 died June 29, 1859

Gilley C. Miller consort of Thomas Miller born 28th day of February 1807 departed this life February 19th, 1837

To the memory of Miss Sarah Miller born Aug 7 1762 died January 19th 1849

Peter Miller born in Mitchelslandt Hessen Darmstadt Germany Sept. 14, 1810 died July 5, 1884

Elizabeth Miller born in Michelslandt Hessen Darmstadt Germany Sept 3, 1808 died June 15, 1882

Frederich Moeller born May 15, 1794 died May 3, 1862

Sacred to the memory of Michal Mulroney a native of Ballyoullen Co. Killkenney Ireland who died July 13, 1854 aged 45 years

Sacred to the memory of Sarah C. Paulsel formerly Sarah C. Hull consort of Jacob Paulsel born March 31st 1808 died November 6th 1850

Elizabeth Philips born Mar. 15, 1816 died Sept. 14, 1897

Parmelia M. wife of W. D. Pratt born May 21, 1809 died Feb. 28, 1890

W. D. Pratt born July 16, 1809 died Jan 31, 1892

Larken Rains born in Virginia 1789 died Sept. 9, 1841 aged 52 years

Violet Ramsey born 1796 died April 24 1861

Elijah Ramsey born 1794 died March 14, 1862

Sylvester Root born Nov. 11, 1792 died Meh 8, 1852

J. J. Rowland died Mar. 8, 1886 aged 47 years. Co. A. 7 Pa Cav.
Vols

Sacred to the memory of Karolina Sochs daughter of Martin
and Anna Elizabeth Koennig and wife of Franz Sachs born
July 25, 1828 died Aug 7, 1847 aged 19 years and 12 days
and

Karolina Sachs infant daughter of Franz and Karolina Sachs
born July 28, 1847 died Aug 18, 1847 aged 21 days

Rev Jacob C. Spitler born October 9th 1811 died April 30th
1855 Born in Augusta City, Virginia

Benjamin Stark died Mar. 26, 1891 aged 75 years

Jonas H. Stevenson born Oct. 7, 1822 died Jan. 18, 1861

Miriam wife of Jas. Stevenson born Apr. 17, 1791 died Jan 11,
1860

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Ann E. Stuart wife of Charles W.
Stuart born Feby 4, 1821 died May 4, 1847

H. M. Tholbron wife of Joseph Tholbron born Nov 13, 1815
died July 22, 1851

Granville P. Thomas died on the 20th January 1849 aged 55
years

Sacred to the memory of John Tyrrell native of Kilkenney
Ireland died on the 29th of August 1853 aged 30 years
Barbara Viesmann geb. Opall geb. 14, Maerz 1800, gest. 10 Aug,
1883

Apollonia consort of John Walde, born May 12, 1831 : died July
7, 1857

Ann Walker born May 9, 1802 died Feb 5, 1861

Sarah Walker born Campbell County Va. Dec 12, 1781 died
May 12, 1849 aged 67 years

G. G. Washington died May 20, 1870 aged 25 years

Sacred to the memory of Augustus Wilke geboren im jahre 1811
gestorben den 8 ten September 1844

Martha wife of Harvey L. Williams died at Glasgow Oct. 9,
1854 aged 27 years

My sister Mrs. Eliza H Hockaday died on steamer El Paso June
16, 1854 aged 45 years

George B. Winston born June 9, 1822 Green County Ky died
June 22, 1882

BOOK NOTICES.

Historical Sketch of the "Sixties" in Chariton County, Missouri, by **Captain Louis Benicke**. Brunswick, Mo., 1909. 25 [2] p. ports.

The survivors of the Civil War in Missouri are rapidly decreasing in numbers, and it is a matter of congratulation that Captain Benicke has published the record of the events in Chariton County. He came to America from Germany in 1856, locating at Brunswick where his home has been ever since, and where he was called by his fellow citizens to many positions of honor and trust, in both political and business fields. In his military service, as mayor of Brunswick, member of the school board, city counsellor, State Senator and in other positions he earned the approval of his fellow citizens. The above sketch by him is full of interest, and is a valuable contribution to local Americana.

Bound with the volume presented to the Society is a pamphlet of thirteen pages—"Some light upon a Chariton County episode of '64," and it like the other work is of value about the stirring times of the Civil War.

The Missouri State Conference of Charities and Corrections. Tenth Annual Meeting, Nov. 1909. n. p., n. d.

This report of 91 pages gives the proceedings of the meeting at Farmington, edited by William T. Cross, the Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. The papers that were presented, and are preserved in this publication are of interest, especially to those engaged in activities of social betterment or interested in philanthropic measures and methods.

Sociology and Modern Social Problems. By **Charles A. Ellwood, Ph. D.**, Professor of Sociology, University of Mis-

souri. New York, Cin. & Chi. American Book Company, (c. 1910.)

The above book of 331 pages is intended as an elementary text in Sociology as applied to modern social problems, and also for use in University Extension Courses and in Teachers' Reading Circles.

The elementary principles of Sociology are stated and illustrated, through the study of the origin, development, structure, and functions of the family considered as a typical human institution. In following chapters various concrete problems, as that of immigration, the negro, poverty and pauperism, crime, and of the city, are considered, and the working of factors in social organization and evolution applied to their interpretation. The standing of Prof. Ellwood in University and in social charity and reform movements is an assurance of the value of this work by him, and the sociological student will find the book one of much interest.

Forest and Town: poems. By **Alexander Nichols DeMenil.** New York and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The Torch Press, 1910.

Dr. McMenil has been writing poetry from his boyhood days, and the above book is partly a compilation of verses he published between 1870 and 1887 in New York and St. Louis magazines and literary papers, and in the Sunday issues of the St. Louis daily newspapers. Others included in the book written since 1886 are now for the first time published. The book is well printed and attractively issued by the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids.

The Bald Knobbers. A romantic and historical novel. By **Clyde Edwin Tuck**, with illustrations by Will Vawter. Indianapolis; B. F. Bowen & Co., 1910.

Last year we had a book of poetry, "For love of you," from Mr. Tuck, who is a native of Polk County, Missouri. His life in the Ozark region of Missouri and work on the metropolitan newspapers, have fitted him for the writing of this novel of Ozark life, and of the few years when the Bald Knobbers were a power felt by friend and foe within the territory

through which they extended. They first came into prominence in Taney County, Missouri, and took their name from the "balds" and "knobs" of the mountains among which they lived. The first leader was Nathaniel N. Kinney, who had been captain of a West Virginia Cavalry company, and the organization soon spread to Christian, Stone, Douglas and other counties and numbered several thousands of members. The original object was to enforce law where it had not been enforced by the officers of the law. Later the organization was used by individuals to wreak vengeance on personal enemies, and after the massacre of the household of an innocent and influential family during a raid of the Bald Knobbers. Gov. Francis had the guilty ones arrested and punished, and the organization was dissolved in 1889 after five years of great power. Mr. Tuck's book does not give a history of the organization, but it is an interesting romance of the times, the place and the members of that organization.

Bacon is Shakespeare, by **Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart.** New York, The John McBride Co., 1910.

The question of who wrote Shakespeare is again presented in this book in attractive print, facsimiles of title pages, illustrations of monuments, and other matters bearing on the authorship of the plays known as Shakespeare's, acknowledged to be the grandest production of the human mind. Classical scholars are amazed at the prodigious amount of knowledge of classical lore in them; lawyers declare their author must have been one among the greatest of lawyers, both in theory and in practice; physicians point out the proofs of extensive knowledge in their line; and travelers think that the author must have visited foreign cities.

The author argues from all the known facts about Shakespeare that it would have been impossible for him to have written all these things, and he presents skillful arguments to sustain his claim that Bacon was the real author. The Society is indebted to the author, Sir Durning-Lawrence, for a copy of this interesting work.

NECROLOGY.

Maj. John Lawrence Bittinger, a member of this Society, was born near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, November 28, 1833. In 1852 in Illinois he entered a newspaper office to learn the art of printing and two years afterwards he was a delegate in a congressional convention at the beginning of the organization of the Republican party. In 1855 he came to St. Louis, to the *Intelligencer*, and two years later to the *Democrat*, of which the late Governor B. Gratz Brown was then editor. Afterwards he became publisher of the *St. Louis Evening Bulletin*, but in 1860 he disposed of it and removed to St. Joseph, and soon after the inauguration of Lincoln was appointed postmaster of St. Joseph. In 1861 he entered the army as a private, and a few months later became Major on the staff of Gen. Willard P. Hall. In 1862 he was a delegate to the first Republican state convention held in Missouri, was its secretary, and made a member of the state central committee. He was that year elected to the General Assembly, was made speaker pro tem, and was looked upon as one of the leaders of the House. During the same year he purchased an interest in the *St. Joseph Herald*, became its managing editor, and made it one of the most influential papers west of the Mississippi. In 1870 he was again elected to the legislature and re-elected two and four years later, and again elected in 1894 and re-elected two years later. He was a delegate to the Republican National conventions of 1872 and 1896. In 1897 President McKinley appointed him consul general at Montreal, Canada, the most important consular position on the continent, and one that he filled with credit. In 1905 he was again elected to the legislature and was the leader of the forces favoring Richard C. Kerens in the memorable fight in which Major Warner was successful. Major Bittinger for fifty years was a prominent

Republican and well known factor in the public life of the nation. He died in St. Joseph, January 9, 1911.

Hon. Giles Boland was born in Greenfield, Dade County, Missouri, November 4, 1843, spent his early life in that county, and was in the Union army during the Civil War. In 1874 he went in business in St. Louis, and after thirty-five years he retired and afterwards held a position in the St. Louis post-office. In 1903 he was elected to the Forty-second General Assembly of Missouri. He died in St. Louis, December 11, 1910.

Judge Gavon D. Burgess of the Supreme Court of Missouri was born in Mason County, Kentucky, November 5, 1835. In 1854 he was admitted to the bar, and in 1858 was elected to the Kentucky Legislature. He came to Missouri in 1865, and three years later was nominated for Circuit Judge, but was defeated. In 1874 he was elected judge of the Eleventh Judicial Circuit, and reelected in 1880 and 1886, serving eighteen years in that office, and he was then elected to the Supreme Court in 1892 and again in 1902. After the death of Judge Fox of the Supreme Court Judge Burgess was unanimously elected Chief Justice October 17, 1910. The almost universal statement in the newspapers that by the death of this judge and the appointment of another in his place will cause a different decision of the Court in a matter pending before it from what it would be if he had not died is an insult to the Court and to the members of it. If the members of the Court are holding their places as politicians and not as jurists the sooner political questions are taken from them the sooner will the Supreme Court be looked upon with respect.

Judge Burgess was buried at his former home at Linneus.

Dr. John William Ellis, a Missouri author, was born at Carthage, Illinois, December 29, 1839, but his parents soon after moved to Kentucky, and he was raised and educated in that State, graduating in Georgetown College in the class of 1860. Coming to Missouri he was recognized as an educator

of standing, and Governor Crittenden appointed him in 1881 as Commissioner for Missouri to the National Educational Conference held that year. He attained a high rank as a Shakespearian scholar, and his Shakespearian library yet at his former home at Plattsburg, Missouri, is recognized as one of the best private libraries of the State. His scholarship in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Sanscrit gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Chicago University in 1889. In his educational work he was connected with Jones' Commercial College in St. Louis, Woodland College at Independence, and Plattsburg College. Of his published works the Society library contains "Life Mission, St. Louis, 1876," and Solomon's "Song of Songs, Columbia, 1897." His metrical translation of Antigone and Sophocles was published in 1872. Other works were left in manuscript by him. For the last five years he did pastoral work at Bentonville, Arkansas, but retained his home at Plattsburg, Missouri. His son, J. Breckenridge Ellis, is well known from a dozen publications of popularity. Dr. Ellis died at Bentonville, Arkansas, November 30, 1910, and was brought to his Missouri home for burial.

Hon. Charles James Hughes, Jr., was born at Kingston, Missouri, February 16, 1853. Moving to Richmond, Ray county, he graduated from Richmond College in 1871, and received his law degree two years later from the University of Missouri. He was elected a member of the United States Senate from Colorado for a term expiring March, 1915. He died at Denver, Colorado, January 11, 1911.

Merom D. Lewis, a member of this Society, was born in St. Louis County on the Manchester road, August 17, 1836, and spent the early part of his life near Glencoe in the same county. He was educated in the schools of the county and city, and in the law department of the State University, and was admitted to the bar in St. Louis, June 30, 1859. In 1870 he was appointed Public Administrator in St. Louis to fill a vacancy and was re-elected three times, holding the office for

fourteen years. In 1890 he was elected city treasurer to fill an unexpired term, and in 1894 he was elected Recorder of Deeds. He died at his home at Crescent, near St. Louis, May, 1910, after a short illness, and was buried from the Lewis Memorial M. E. Church, South, at that place, which had been erected by him and his brothers. A special train on the Frisco Railroad carried about one hundred of his friends from St. Louis to the funeral ceremonies.

Judge Jesse H. McVeigh, a member of this Society at Hannibal, Missouri, was born in Loudon County, Virginia, May 1, 1824. He studied law in Richmond and was admitted to the bar in 1851. Two years afterwards he came to Paris, Missouri, and practiced law at that place until 1862, a part of the time as partner of Judge Theodore Brace. In 1867 he moved to Hannibal, where he was in business, and served as a member of the Common Council and as presiding judge of the County Court. He was one of the founders of the Hannibal National Bank, and at the time of his death, October 14, 1910, was its vice president. Among the prominent and public spirited men of Hannibal no one was more respected and more worthy of respect than was he.

Col. Jason W. Newell, was born in Utica, New York, in 1834, and educated there; lived in Chilton, Calumet County, Wisconsin, for twenty-five years, and was sheriff of the county one term: 1st lieutenant 21st Wisconsin Infantry; Captain Co. A, 6th U. S. Volunteers; raised 7th Regiment U. S. Volunteers and was appointed Colonel; came to Missouri in 1879; elected to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth General Assemblies, 1885, 1887; a farmer and Republican. He died at the residence of a daughter at Joplin, November, 1910.

McCullough Selph, a member of this Society at Marshfield, Missouri, was born in Webster County, Missouri, in 1861. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law in that county for several years, being city attorney at Marshfield, and one term the prosecuting attorney of the county. He died at Marshfield, October 7, 1910.

Frederick William Schaurte died December 2, 1910, at Santa Ana, California, and was buried December 8th in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri. He was born December 3, 1836, at Cologne, Germany; came to the United States when about 17 years old, and enlisted in the army as a private November 13, 1854. He was assigned to Company G, Second Infantry, and in the spring of 1855 sent to Fort Pierre, South Dakota. He was engaged in the Indian campaigns against the Sioux, Kiowa and Comanche tribes until the outbreak of the Civil War, operating in the West, and as far south as New Mexico. He attained the rank of orderly sergeant in 1856. Early in 1861 he was commissioned 1st lieutenant, Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and raised a company which was assigned to duty at Ft. Leavenworth. Early in 1862 this Company was mustered into the Sixth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry as Company F., with Lieutenant Schaurte as Captain. On June 11, 1862, he was also commissioned Second Lieutenant Co. G. 2d U. S. Cavalry. In May, 1862, he was Acting Assistant Adjutant General of Judson's Brigade. In July, 1862, he was ordered to join his command of regulars who were then serving under General Canby in New Mexico, where after a brief period the Command started for the Missouri river, and he accompanied General Canby to Washington City on escort duty. After a temporary assignment on the staff of General Wadsworth of the Army of the Potomac, he was commissioned by President Lincoln Lieutenant Colonel of Volunteers 2d Regiment Cherokee Indian Brigade December 27, 1862. His first duty was service as president of a military commission at Fort Scott; after which he took charge of his regiment at Fort Gibson, and with them participated in all the hard-fought campaigns of the border, until the regiment was mustered out May 31, 1864. He served as Inspector General of Volunteers of the Frontier, with headquarters at Ft. Smith. On March 13th, 1865, he was commissioned Brevet Captain, Major and Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army "for gallant and meritorious service during the war." He was honorably mustered out of the Volunteer Service May 31, 1865, and again engaged in the

Indian campaigns. He was commissioned Captain 2d Cavalry August 31, 1866, and resigned from the army May 7, 1867, having married October 9, 1866, Miss Antoinette Wilcox, of Van Buren, Ark. After some experience as an Arkansas planter, he was appointed U. S. postoffice inspector with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., in which capacity he served 17 years, having under his supervision the states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. His record was an exceptional one here, as in the army, because of his untiring capacity for work, his fine intellect and sterling integrity. As a Government official he made an extended acquaintance, and was widely known through the entire southwest. In 1885 he was appointed claim agent of the St. Louis Southwestern railway and later purchasing agent, retiring as such January 1, 1892, which terminated his active business career. For a major portion of the succeeding years until his death he spent the winters at Santa Ana, California. He is survived by his widow and one daughter, the wife of James M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis, Mo., and their three children.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

H. H. Bass, Warrensburg,
President.

E. M. Brooks, Oregon,
Vice President.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville,
Secretary.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia,
Editor.

THE MEETING AT ST. JOSEPH.

The first session of the semi-annual meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government opened on November 10, 1910, in the High School at St. Joseph, and was well

attended. Two valuable reports were made; one dealt with the teaching of history in the high schools of Missouri, the other was concerned with the teaching of history in the elementary schools of Missouri. Two years ago committees were appointed to deal with these matters. These committees have put forth a fine effort to get information. Following these reports, many questions were asked by various members of the Society. The number who joined the Society after the session was closed indicates the interest taken in history and government. The two chairmen of the committees, Professor Violette, of Kirksville, and Superintendent O'Rear, of Boonville, deserve much credit for their interesting reports.

Professor H. H. Bass, of Warrensburg, was chosen permanent chairman, and Superintendent E. M. Brooks, of Oregon, permanent vice chairman.

The program of the second session was carried out as advertised. Professor Trenholme's paper on "Historical Interpretation of the Existing Political Situation in Great Britain" was well received and was followed by questions and discussion. Among those taking part in the discussion were Dr. Loeb, of Columbia; Superintendent Brooks, of Oregon; Superintendent Little, of Lexington, and Professor Otterson, of Kirksville. Professor Isidor Loeb's paper on "Recent Development in Missouri Political Institutions" was highly interesting and informative in regard to the primary system and the Initiative and Referendum. Discussion followed, which was limited on account of time. Professor Olmstead was asked to make some remarks on the teaching of ancient history. He gave a very interesting discussion on the new viewpoint in the teaching of this subject. His main object was to meet the teachers of ancient history. The Society decided to hold its May meeting at Columbia, Friday afternoon preceding high school day and the Saturday morning of high school day, May 5-6.

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TWO MISSOURI HISTORIANS.

A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, Mo., December 5, 1901.

One of the most important epochs in the history of the United States was that covered by the war of 1861. I do not propose, of course, entering upon a minute examination of the causes that led up to that conflict, but cursory review seems to be essential in the proper presentation of the matter covered by this paper.

The slavery question with its accompanying issues of free trade and state sovereignty, were matters of bitter discussion from the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. I speak advisedly in classing state sovereignty as a side issue of slavery, for, while it was a prime factor in the discussion over the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, after that result, it fell into the background except among the most strenuous upholders of the system of slavery.

The state of Missouri came into being through heated although wordy conflict. Its very existence as a state was through a compromise on the slavery question. And oddly, though perhaps naturally its political history from 1821 to 1861 was so impregnated with bitterness and rancor that the state has been well styled by one of our historians, "A bone of contention."

In 1861 when the fever of secession was rampant in the blood of all who believed thoroughly in the doctrine of states rights, or state sovereignty, Missouri was the most populous as well as one of the most wealthy of the slave holding states. Naturally there was a strong desire on the part of those who were in favor of secession to see Missouri allied with the Southern States. And just as naturally, there was as strong a wish on the part of those who believed in upholding the authority of the Federal government, to hold Missouri on the side of the Union.

It was not strange then that the political contest of 1860, and the preliminary strife of the first months of 1861, in Missouri, were characterized by a struggle in which every inch of ground was disputed, in which the leaders were men of the strongest force, and in which no favors were asked or granted. Each side seemed to realize that as went Missouri so would go the conflict, and their exertions were emphasized by this conclusion.

I think that a careful study of the situation as it then existed will lead any candid mind to the following conclusion: Missouri would have passed an ordinance of secession, and joined her interests with the Southern Confederacy, had it not been for two facts:

First, by some scarcely explainable stupidity, the State Legislature which convened at Jefferson City on the 31st of December, 1860, and which was beyond doubt overwhelmingly in favor of secession, or at least of non-coercion, instead of grappling the situation boldly, temporized by passing an act providing for the election of a convention, and explicitly giving to that convention all authority over Federal relations. Members of that convention were chosen on February 18, 1861, and by herculean work on the part of the Union men of Missouri, the 104 members elected were largely opposed to secession, although many of them were slaveholders, and all but 18 were natives of slave holding states. When too late, the friends of secession saw their error, and the more conservative of them realized that they had missed their opportunity.

Second, when on February 6, 1861, a company of regulars, under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, marched into the St. Louis arsenal, the possibility of secession on the part of Missouri became naught. "He was the greatest man I ever saw in my life," says Col. Snead. "I met him on three occasions: at the conference between the Missouri State authorities and himself, on the battlefield of Wilson's Creek, and when I laid him in the grave. All that happened in the space of about three months. I buried him by instructions from General Price, and I said to myself when I put him in the ground: 'That is the greatest enthusiast I ever saw, and the greatest man.'"

What Lyon did can best be shortly told in the words of Col. Snead, an opponent in all the word implies, and hence his testimony lacks any suspicion of partiality. He says:

"By capturing the state militia at Camp Jackson, and driving the Governor from the capital, and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the state, and by holding Price and McCullough at bay, he had given the Union men of Missouri time, opportunity and courage to bring their state convention together again, and had given the convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the General Assembly, and to establish a State Government, which was loyal to the Union, and which would use the whole organized power of the State, its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources, to sustain the Union and crush the South. All this had been done while Lyon was boldly confronting the overwhelming strength of Price and McCullough. Had he abandoned Springfield instead, and opened to Price a pathway to the Missouri; had he not been willing to die for the freedom of the negro, and for the preservation of the Union, none of these things would have then been done. By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying, he had won the fight for Missouri."

The historical importance of the period covered by the war of secession, in its connection with American annals, will

scarcely be disputed. And I am persuaded my hearers will at least partially admit the importance of this epoch that I have claimed for the State of Missouri. This being the case, brings us to the examination of the written history of that period, the prime fact endeavored to be covered by this paper.

There is no other State with whose history I am conversant, that has had so important an era as was that of 1861, covered so thoroughly and so praiseworthily, as has been that of Missouri. Its historians, one writing from the standpoint of an ardent Union man, the other from the view of an equally ardent supporter of secession, although writing two decades apart, each cover the period closing with the death of General Lyon on the tenth day of August, 1861, at Wilson's Creek. Thus seemingly they are agreed upon one point, that those few pregnant months settled the fate of Missouri and of the nation.

In point of time the Union history appeared first. In 1866 was published in New York a book entitled "Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861. A Monograph of the Great Rebellion. By James Peckham, formerly Lt. Col. 8th Infantry, Mo. Vols."

James Peckham was a native of New York state. When but a young man he came to Missouri, and he was the first telegraph operator ever stationed at Boonville. He moved to St. Louis and studied law, and in 1860 was elected to the Missouri Legislature from that city. He was a member of the parent company of Union men enrolled at St. Louis early in 1861, under Captain Frank P. Blair. He entered the United States service early, and after becoming Lt. Col. of the 8th Missouri Infantry he resigned and became Colonel of the 29th Missouri Infantry, which position he filled until 1864 when he again resigned. The remainder of his life was spent in the practice of law in St. Louis, where he died in 1883, and where a monument to his memory is erected in Bellefontaine cemetery. His widow still resides in St. Louis. Col. Peckham was a man of wit and good fellowship, although somewhat erratic by nature. His old associates seem to be united in

saying that he was somewhat elusive, disappearing from view at times for several days, and not very easy to become acquainted with.

His history of Missouri in 1861 is a mass of documents and facts that can not be obtained elsewhere. Original orders, letters, proceedings of various committees and the like, fill the 400 pages of his book to such repletion that Col. Snead admits his indebtedness to it as "a book whose glaring faults are more than compensated by the important facts the remembrance whereof it has preserved."

Said a Jefferson City correspondent of the Missouri Democrat, under date of May 11, 1861:

"From what I overhear, I take it as a fact that a bill has passed appropriating money for the purpose of inducing the savage Indian tribes to the west of us to make a descent upon Kansas and Iowa. I heard Mr. Peckham denounce to a secessionist the heathenism of such a law, and the response he received was as follows: "It will be d—d lucky for you fellows, if worse things than that ain't done to you before we are through with this thing."

Among the most valuable documents preserved for the historian by Col. Peckham were scores of letters sent from almost every section of Missouri to Col. F. P. Blair, which illustrate fully the feeling of unrest and solicitude which then prevailed. As Col. Peckham states, these selections were made "from several bushels of letters sent to Col. Blair at that time," and it is a source of much regret that more of this correspondence was not preserved. As it is we are under obligations to Colonel Peckham for the little we have.

As corroborative of the statement toward the first of this paper, that the legislature of 1861 was overwhelmingly in favor of secession, I will here quote a passage from Col. Peckham's book concerning the organization of that body, of which he was a member:

"On the 2d of January an election for permanent officers was held in the House, and the successful candidates were entirely of the secession mould. Speaker McAfee was an un-

disguised secessionist. The vote for speaker stood thus: McAfee, 76; all others, 48. On the morning of the 3d the Lieut. Governor issued a private circular which was placed on the desks of certain Senators, inviting to his room all those Senators who were in hearty sympathy with "our Southern brethren," and who were 'firmly determined to see our sister states secure their rights,' for the purpose of making up the Senate committees. Of all the officers and clerks of both branches of the Legislature, I know of but one who was not an avowed secessionist."

In some respects Col. Snead, who has given us the history of the same period from a Confederate standpoint, was more fortunate than his predecessor. He had the advantage of all the documentary matter preserved by the former, as well as much other which had been brought to light, and the passions engendered by a cruel war had somewhat cooled, so that, taken as a whole, his book is more critical, and possesses more of a historical tone, than did that of Col. Peckham.

In fact, Col. Snead's book, which was published in New York in 1886, under the title "The Fight for Missouri From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon. By Thomas L. Snead, A. D. C. of the Governor; Acting Adjutant General of the Missouri State Guard; Chief of Staff of the Army of the West; Member of the Confederate Congress," is so fair, while presenting his view of the conflict, and so generous in ascribing merit to his opponents, that there is a well substantiated belief on the part of many that to this cause is to be ascribed the failure of Col. Snead's book to receive the recognition from his fellows that he thought it deserved, and which was certainly its due.

Thomas Lowndes Snead was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1827. He was graduated from the University of Virginia, and came to Missouri in 1851, settling in St. Louis. While waiting for practice he clerked for awhile in the Court House, and then entered into partnership with Judge Wickham. In November, 1852, he was married to Miss Harriet V. Reel. He practiced law in St. Louis until 1861, and, as was frequently

the case then with young lawyers, engaged ardently in newspaper political work, becoming editor of the St. Louis Bulletin, which earnestly supported Breckenridge for the presidency. As illustrative of the position of the Breckenridge democracy at that time, I quote from Col. Snead's preface:

"We believed that the slave holding states could not remain in the Union, with either safety or honor, unless the North should consent to give them Constitutional guarantees that their rights as coequal States of the Union should be both respected and protected by the Federal Government, and because we thought that his question should be plainly submitted to the North in the then pending presidential election, and a positive answer demanded. As Mr. Douglas' candidacy, with his policy of equivocation, prevented this question from being put fairly to the North, we opposed him and everybody who supported him."

As further illustrating the spirit which prevailed in those days, I may be pardoned for introducing the following parenthetical statement:

The St. Louis Bulletin was then owned by Eugene Longuemare, who appears to have been a hot headed secessionist. He attended the Democratic National convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, with others from Missouri, and while there became engaged in a political controversy with General James Craig, of St. Joseph, who was one of the delegates from Missouri to that convention. The dispute went to such an extent that Longuemare challenged General Craig to mortal combat, and it was only by the cooler counsels of John B. Clark, of Fayette, and others, that the meeting was averted.

Col. Snead became private secretary to Governor Claiborne F. Jackson early in 1861. He then entered military service as aid to General Sterling Price, and remained with him until the summer of 1864, when he entered the Confederate Congress as a member from Missouri. After General Price came back to the United States from Mexico, where he had gone at the close of the war, he turned over all his records and papers to

Col. Snead, with the understanding that the latter was to write the history of Missouri in the Confederacy.

Col. Snead moved to New York City after the close of the war, in 1865, and took the editorship of the *Daily News*. Two years later he resumed the practice of law and pursued his literary researches. On October 17, 1890, he died suddenly, from heart disease. His remains were brought to St. Louis for burial. He left a widow and two children, who are living now in New Jersey. He left the manuscript covering the history of Missouri in the Confederacy, which is still in the possession of his widow. It had been his aim to publish this, but disappointment at the cool reception accorded to his first volume, caused him to reconsider his determination, an act by which, I think, the world has been the loser.

Said Col. Snead's brother-in-law to me: "He was of a most loveable disposition, and it was impossible for him, while being an intense partisan, to be otherwise than fair. I remember once in 1862, he was at Little Rock, Arkansas, and his wife went to see him. She made a remark to him one day that she would think he would 'just hate the Yankees.' To which he replied that he could hate nobody, for all could not think alike. And so he continued through life, loving and being loved."

Col. Snead rests where he would have chosen to be laid away, in beautiful Bellefontaine cemetery in St. Louis, in the state of his adoption. He and Col. Peckham, soldierly antagonists, rival historians, preservers of the annals of opposing sides, sleep their last sleep in the same field.

As a fitting parallel with Col. Snead's fine tribute to General Lyon, quoted before, I will close with his equally eloquent judgment passed upon General Sterling Price, after the battle of Wilson's Creek:

"Of danger he seemed to take no note, but he had none of the brilliant dash, of that fine frenzy of the fight, which men call gallantry, for he was great rather than brilliant. He was wise, too, and extremely brave, quick to see, prompt to act, and always right. From this time he was loved and trusted

by his soldiers, as no Missourian had ever been; and never thereafter did he lose their trust and devotion, for throughout all the long years of war—years crowded with victories and with defeats—the virtues which he displayed that day grew more conspicuous all the time, while around then clustered others which increased the splendor of these—unselfish devotion to his native land, unending care for the men who fought under his flag, constancy under defeat, patience under wrongs that were grievous, justice toward all men, and kindness toward everyone.”

H. E. ROBINSON.

SIDE LIGHTS ON THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The Missouri compromises have been fully exploited on the federal side, but from the stand point of the territory little or nothing has been written respecting them. Missouri newspapers drew their reports of the progress of events from their Eastern exchanges and from occasional private letters. The mails required from four to five weeks in transmission and when they failed, as they frequently did, the Missouri editor filled his columns with "elegant extracts" from British classics. Proceedings in Congress were reprinted from the National Intelligencer, but on one occasion "Mr. Gales was indisposed" and the debates were unreported for a week. (1) There was great disappointment in the territory when the fifteenth Congress adjourned without agreeing upon an enabling act and indignation meetings were held in several counties. A meeting in Montgomery County, April 28th, 1819,

Resolved that the restriction attempted to be imposed upon the people of this territory, as a condition of their admission into the union, is a daring stretch of power, an usurpation of our sacred rights, unprecedented, unconstitutional, and in open violation of the third article of the treaty of cession entered into with France. (2)

Similar resolutions were passed in Howard county in June, in Washington county in July, and on September 14th the inhabitants of New Madrid county declared that they would be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original states or not at all. (3) Later in the month a petition was gotten up which proposed to solve the difficulty by dividing the territory by the line of the Missouri river and erecting the

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1. Missouri Enquirer, February 26, 1820.
 2. Missouri Gazette, May 19, 1819.
 3. St. Louis Enquirer, October 6, 1819.

northern part into a free and the southern part into a slave state, but the suggestion found little favor.

Editorial comment varied with the point of view. The Missouri Intelligencer, published at Franklin, attributed the failure of the Missouri bill to Eastern jealousy of Western development as follows:

“The restriction attempted to be imposed upon us by the seventy-eight (4) members of the House of Representatives who voted for it, were those exclusively of the **eastern states**. They view with a jealous eye the march of power westward, and are well aware the preponderance will soon be against them; therefore they have combined against us; but let them pause before they proceed further, or the grave they are preparing for us, may be their own sepulchre! As well might they arrest the course of the ocean that wash their barren shores, as to check our future growth. Emigration will continue with a giant stride until the wilderness shall be a wilderness no more; but in its stead will arise flourishing towns, cultivated farms, & peace, plenty and happiness smile on the land. Let those who are raised by the voice of the people to watch over and protect their rights and liberties, beware how they abuse so sacred a trust, lest they find in every injured freeman the spirit of a Hampden rise and hurl them from their posts.” (5)

The editor of the St. Louis Enquirer emphasized the element of sectional rivalry and States rights.

“No people,” he said “ever understood a political question better than the people of Missouri understand this. They know that, as it affects the Slaves, it is only a question of the **place** in which they shall live and can neither diminish their numbers nor better their condition; as it affects the Republic, it is a question of political powers between the Northern and Southern interests; and as it affects the State of Missouri, it is simply and nakedly a question of State Sovereignty, an experiment on the part of Congress to commence the business of making constitutions for the states, after having seized upon the power of making Presidents for the people.” (6)

4. This number should be eighty-seven.

5. Missouri Intelligencer, May 17, 1819.

6. St. Louis Enquirer, November 10, 1819.

As the struggle was more and more protracted public opinion became more and more excited. January 26, 1820, the St. Louis Enquirer charged that the postponement of the Missouri question until after the holidays was "a trick to delay the decision until the Northern states could 'lash into the ranks' such of their members as would not vote with them last year," particularly Holmes and Shaw, of Massachusetts, Storrs, of New York, Baldwin, of Pennsylvania, McLean, of Delaware, and Bloomfield, of New Jersey. When by the 25th of March no report of the passage of the Missouri bill was received, the editor of the Enquirer became hysterical:

"If Missouri," he said, "is conquered by the people of the North, no matter whether it be done by votes at Washington or by intrigues at home—the result will be the same and the consequences equally calamitous to the territory and the Union. The balance of power will be overturned; all check to the criminal design of these men will be removed; and their desperate designs will be as readily executed as they are now openly avowed. The Louisiana treaty will be a nullity and its territory sold out to some foreign bidder or held and governed at will as a conquered dominion. The liberty of the blacks will be proclaimed; lighted torches will be put into the hands of slaves to rouse their sleeping masters from their beds amid the flames of their houses and the cries of their slaughtered children."

It was darkest before dawn. Four days later the news came that the Missouri bill had passed without restriction as to slavery nearly a month before. The transition from despair to ecstasy was instant. The Southern members had stood "united as a Spartan band, forty days in the pass of Thermoplae, defending the People of Missouri, the Treaty of Cession and the Constitution of the Republic." To the Northern members, who had voted against restriction, there should, in the language of Barbour, "be erected an imperishable monument of everlasting fame." (7) April 30 the town of St.

7. Six Senators and fourteen Representatives from Northern states voted against restriction. The Senators were Hunter, of Rhode Island; Lanman, of Connecticut; Parrott, of New Jersey; Palmer, of Vermont, and Edwards and Thomas, of Illinois. The Representatives were Hill, Holmes, Mason and

Louis was illuminated and transparencies displayed the names of the Northern men who had voted against restriction. The name of Senator Lanman, of Connecticut, who had been burned in effigy at Hartford, was most conspicuous. Some proposed to burn an effigy of Senator King, of New York, by way of retaliation but better counsels prevailed. (8)

In the ensuing constitutional election slavery was the paramount issue. In St. Louis Judge John B. C. Lucas, whose son, Benton, had been killed in a duel, headed an independent ticket "opposed to the further introduction of slaves into Missouri." Rector, Sullivan, Pratte, Barton, McNair, Bates, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Riddick, nominated by the "lawyer junto," made up the opposing ticket. Benton aspired to an election, but, failing of a regular nomination, withdrew from the contest. (9) The Missouri Gazette and the St. Louis Enquirer were the respective organs of the two factions. Among the workers on the anti-slavery side was Benjamin Lundy. The election was held from the first to the third of May. In St. Louis the pro-slavery vote was double that of the restrictionists. Of the thirty-nine delegates elected to the convention in the whole territory only one was opposed to slavery. (10) The result seems to have been due not so much to any very strong sentiment in favor of slavery as to a fierce resentment bred by the Congressional attempt at dictation.

The constitutional convention met in St. Louis, June 12, the day prescribed by the enabling act, and organized by the election of David Barton as president. It "has passed into history," that the constitution was chiefly the work of Barton. Darby says that "the most important provisions were framed by him and from that day to the present it has been known as the Barton constitution." (11) and this statement is repeated in

Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Foote and Stevens, of Connecticut; Melge and Storrs, of New York; Bloomfield, Kinsey and Smith, of New Jersey; and Baldwin and Fullerton, of Pennsylvania. Adding the two Senators and one Representative from Delaware increases the number to eight and fifteen, respectively.

8. Missouri Enquirer, March 29, April 1, 1820.

9. Missouri Enquirer, April 26, 1820.

10. Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles, who had come to Missouri from Vermont.

11. Personal Recollections, p. 28.

nearly every history of Missouri. The meagre record of the Journal (12) furnishes no support for it. It would seem to be the result of confusing the authorship of the constitution with the name given to the convention by reason of Barton's having been its presiding officer.

As far as one can judge from the Journal, Mr. Edward Bates, afterward attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, was the leading spirit in the convention. He took the first step toward framing a constitution by moving the appointment of a committee for the purpose. It was decided to divide the work between four committees, which reported to a central one, and the resulting document was referred for final revision to a committee of which Mr. Bates was chairman, so that Mr. Bates occupies with reference to the first constitution of Missouri the position which Gouveneur Morris occupies with reference to the Constitution of the United States.

There can be little pride of authorship in the first constitution of Missouri. Although Hildreth (13) noted that it was "copied in most respects from the constitution of Kentucky," the extent to which that was the case has been lost sight of. Its most original provision was a defiant preamble which declared that

"We, the people of Missouri...by our representatives in convention assembled...do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic, by the name of the "State of Missouri" and for the government thereof do ordain and establish this constitution."

The exclusion of the clergy from the general assembly, although favored by local conditions, was taken from the constitution of Kentucky. The article respecting the power of the general assembly over slavery was the same as article VII of the constitution of Kentucky, except for the addition:

12. Journal of the Missouri State Convention. St. Louis, 1820. Photo-facsimile reprint. Theo. L. Cole. Washington, D. C., 1905. Only three copies of the original edition are extant.
13. History of the United States. Vol. 6, p. 703.

It shall be their duty to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the state on any pretext whatever.

With the exception of an enlargement of the judiciary by the addition of a court of chancery, the constitution of Missouri was practically the same as that of Kentucky. (14)

In his speech at Jefferson City twenty-nine years afterward, in his *Thirty Years' View*, and repeatedly in private letters during his later life, Benton claimed to have secured, although not a member of the convention, the adoption of the clause which prohibited legislative emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners and without compensation. It was Benton's greatest foible that he came to think that he had originated nearly every important measure of American history. Bagehot remarks that Gibbon was unable to tell the difference between himself and the Roman Empire. Still less was Benton able to distinguish between himself and the United States. (15) Inasmuch as the constitutional limitation upon legislative emancipation was a part of article VII of the Kentucky constitution, which the Missouri convention borrowed *en bloc*, it is scarcely possible that Benton could have had anything to do with its adoption.

The Missouri constitution was enacted without being referred to a popular vote, a State government and a representative in Congress were elected and the legislature chose Barton and Benton United States senators, the former unanimously and the latter after a violent contest. Both senators-elect repaired to Washington and, in frequent letters to the Missouri newspapers, set forth their views of the animus of the renewed opposition to the admission of the State. These let-

14. Sixteen members of the Convention were Virginians and eight, the next largest number from a single state, were born in Kentucky. *Missouri Enquirer*, June 17, 1820.

15. In a remarkable passage in the autobiographical sketch, prefixed to some editions of his *Thirty Years' View*, Benton said of himself:

"The bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation—the enumeration is unnecessary: the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonely cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys who feel an honorable ambition beginning to stir within their bosoms and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country."

ters are perhaps a safer guide to the course of events than the speeches reported in the Annals of Congress, inasmuch as Niles's Register complains at this time that it is "notorious that many speeches are made only for the newspapers and are hardly listened to by half a dozen in either house. (16)

November 22d Benton wrote to the editor of the Missouri Intelligencer:

The committees appointed to examine the Missouri constitution will report tomorrow. Both committees will report in favor of admitting the state. In the Senate we apprehend no difficulty. In the House of Representatives the struggle of last winter will be renewed and it is apprehended that the restrictionists will predominate. The vote was very close last winter, and since then we have lost several friends from the north, who have been constrained by their constituents to abandon their seats. They make a pretext of that part of our constitution which provides for keeping out free negroes and mulattoes, when almost every state in the Union, even the free states themselves, have the same provision as will be fully shown in the course of the debates here. (17)

December 12 the Senate resolution for the admission of Missouri was passed and on the next day the House resolution for the same purpose was rejected.

December 25, one of the Missouri Senators, apparently Barton, wrote the following analysis of the situation "to a gentleman" at home:

"When we arrived here a copy of our Constitution was presented in each house of Congress; and their committees made separate reports; both in favor of our admission as a state. The resolution of the Senate passed, ayes 26, noes 18. The resolution of the House of Representatives was rejected, ayes 79, noes 93—14 majority against us. At this vote Clay, of Kentucky, and five other southern friends were absent; so that the nation seems to be almost equally divided on this question. Some of the northern states have instructed their members to vote against us; in these instructions they go back to their old ground of restriction, and some even take the

16. Niles's Register, October 21, 1820.

17. Missouri Intelligencer, January 1, 1821.

ground of universal emancipation. They also make a pretext of the clause of our constitution to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming and settling among us, although every state in the Union has taken the same precaution to keep out the refuse and dangerous population of their neighboring states. This, however, is pretty clearly only a disguise for the iniquity of their real motives. The truth is that the northern states have a small majority in the national councils; and they wish to preserve it by crippling the growth of the west and preventing the increase of new states, unless like Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, they will become mere appendages to the North; and by their institutions virtually exclude the immigration of their brethren and friends from the southern and western states.

"I think, however, their courage will not equal their villainy; and that we shall yet be admitted; probably not until another object is effected by getting the treaty of Mr. Adams with Spain ratified by our Senate. This treaty proposes to give off of our southern border country enough to form several new states at a future day; by thus curtailing the outlet of the South and West, and by excluding them from the countries west and north of Missouri by the odious restriction of last session, the preponderance of the North is to be perpetuated. This may be considered a twin brother to the opposition to Missouri, both having the same object. A few votes in such a case might turn a national scale." (18)

The Senate resolution was not taken up in the House until January 12, 1821. On the 16th Clay returned to Congress and essayed the role of peacemaker. February 2 he secured the reference of the Senate resolution to a committee of thirteen, which on the 10th reported a compromise resolution for the admission of Missouri on the condition that the State should never pass any law preventing any persons who were citizens of other states from settling within her limits, and that the State legislature by a solemn public act should give its assent to this condition. On the following day (February 11) Senator Barton wrote to his constituents:

"On the last discussion of this subject, Mr. Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who has attempted to be a leader of the anti-

18. Missouri Intelligencer, January 29, 1821. The letter is erroneously dated January instead of December.

Missourians drew aside the veil and gave us a glimpse of 'Hartford Convention,' revised and corrected. He declared that he would vote against the resolution, however it might be amended—that he thought nothing ought to be done on the subject at this session, but left to a new Congress to determine how far they were bound by the act of the last session, and whether Missouri should be admitted at all without a prohibition of slavery in her constitution. He suggested as a new reason for such a course, that Florida would probably soon apply for admission under infinitely stronger claims for admitting slaveholding population, than Missouri can urge; and that a just "balance of power" ought to be preserved.

"These free negro apostles indulge the delusive hope that a revolution of sentiment can be effected in Missouri. They are led to the belief (probably by one of those foreigners, both by birth and principle; or one of those political preachers, who have done so much to injure our character and state) that large minorities in favor of restriction exist in each county. Encouraged by such hopes, and being wholly free from the embarrassments of political honesty and public faith, the leaders in the House of Representatives are endeavoring to secure themselves the benefits of an open question and a new struggle in the succeeding Congress. It is not believed, however, that the honest republicans of the north, thus advised of their ultimate objects, will go with them thro' their criminal course." (19)

The compromise resolutions were, however, defeated in the House on February 12 by a vote of 80 to 83, and upon reconsideration on the next day thereafter by a vote of 82 to 88. (20) The defeat of the resolution was due to the opposition of John Randolph and his adherents, who refused to assent to the imposition of any condition, however meaningless, upon the admission of a State. February 21 the situation was brought to a crisis by the motion of Brown, of Kentucky, to repeal the first compromise—a motion which he consented to postpone at the request of Baldwin, of Pennsylvania. On the next day the President announced the exchange of ratifications

19. *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 16, 1821.

20. In the vote upon reconsideration, four new names were recorded in the affirmative and five new ones in the negative, one member upon each side did not vote and Garnett, of Virginia, changed from the affirmative to the negative.

of the Florida treaty, whereupon Clay judged that the moment was opportune for a motion for a joint committee of the two houses to consider whether or not it was expedient to make provision for the admission of Missouri. February 26 the joint committee reported a resolution, substantially equivalent to the resolution of the House committee of thirteen, and the resolution was immediately agreed to by a vote of 86 to 82. Every Southern member voted in the affirmative, with the exception of Randolph, who voted "no" to the last, and of the members from Delaware, who refrained from voting at all. Eighteen northern votes made up the majority. (21)

The result was accomplished by the change of four votes: those of Edwards, of North Carolina, and of Samuel Moore, Rogers and Udree, of Pennsylvania. Edwards deserted Randolph, doubtless convinced that the substance was more important than the form, although he had declared in the House that he would never consent to establish the principle of imposing a condition upon the admission of a state. Moore, Rogers, and Baldwin were all members of the joint committee. Circumstances point to Baldwin as having secured the Pennsylvania votes. He was immediately thereafter appointed a justice of the United States Supreme Court, possibly as a reward for having "saved the country." (22) How far the ratification of the Florida treaty contributed to the result must be a matter of conjecture but it is rather remarkable that the turn in the tide, as predicted by Barton, came with its announcement.

A special session of the Missouri legislature was called at St. Charles to consider "great and weighty matters," and this session passed an extraordinary act, which declared that the act was itself unnecessary, that Congress had no right to require it, but that as it would not be binding, they would never-

21. The Northern votes were those of Hill and Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Stroms, of Connecticut; Clark, Ford, Guyon, Hackley, Melge and Storrs, of New York; Bateman, Bloomfield, Smith and Southard, of New Jersey; Baldwin, Samuel Moore, Rogers and Udree, of Pennsylvania. McLane, of Delaware, did not vote. The vote upon final passage stood 87 to 81. Garnett, of Virginia, refrained from voting in the negative and the vote of Hall, of North Carolina, was added to the affirmative.

22. The possibility of his appointment to succeed Gallatin in Paris, was discussed in the newspapers.

theless declare that the clause of the State constitution, designated by Congress, would never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of any of the United States would ever be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which he was entitled under the constitution of the United States. Immediately upon the receipt of this act the President proclaimed the admission of Missouri.

But slight attention has been directed to the fact that the resolution of the joint committee, which Congress had adopted, did not correctly designate the clause in the constitution of Missouri to which exception had been taken, which instead of being the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article, was properly the first clause of the third subdivision of this section. This erroneous designation was the result of the fact, that, in the peculiar form in which the constitution was printed for the use of Congress, (23) the objectionable clause was marked by the fourth indentation in the margin of this section. The discrepancy would be of no importance, had there not grown up in Missouri a tradition that it was noticed in the State legislature, and that the declaratory act was passed as a result of it. The only evidence in support of this tradition is a letter written in 1892 by Judge Samuel Treat in which he said that the declaratory act was drawn by Henry S. Geyer, who stated to him "that the strange mis-recital was observed by the general assembly and that it materially aided in securing the passage of the act." (24) The supposition that the act was intended to be an evasion of this sort is unsupported by any contemporary evidence, and is distinctly negatived by the report (25) that accompanied the act, which speaks of "the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article....upon the subject of prohibiting the emigration of free negroes and mulattoes into the state." It must therefore be concluded either that the Missouri legislature, in common with nearly all writers on

23. Senate doc. 1 and House doc. 2, second session, Sixteenth Congress.

24. Proceedings Mass. Hist. Society for February, 1900, second series, vol. 13, p. 454. Geyer in 1851 succeeded Benton in the United States Senate.

25. Printed in Missouri Intelligencer, June 18, 1821.

the subject of the Missouri compromise ever since, failed to notice the inaccuracy in the act of Congress, or if it was noticed, that they took no account of it.

It remains only to be said that Missouri accomplished her purpose in spite of the act of Congress. A State act of 1825 (26) "concerning negroes and mulattoes" excluded such persons from the State unless citizens of another State, in which case they were required to prove their citizenship by presenting naturalization papers. While such persons were regarded as citizens in some States, they were never naturalized and therefore could not present naturalization papers. In 1847 it was more positively provided that "No free negro nor mulatto shall under any pretext emigrate into this State from any State or territory" (27) and this act remained upon the statute book until the Civil War drew to a close. (28)

FRANK H. HODDER.

26. R. L. Mo., 1825, p. 600.

27. R. S. Mo., 1855, p. 1101.

28. Repealed February 20, 1865. Laws of Mo., 1865, p. 66.

BRYANT'S STATION AND ITS FOUNDER, WILLIAM BRYANT.

We are told upon good authority (1) that the final letter of the name of Bryant, is excrecent. It should be remembered, however, that the extension occurred so long ago, (in fact in the days when Knighthood was in Flower) that Bryant has for centuries constituted a distinctive name. And the reader who would arrive at any intelligent undersanding of the name as applied to the pioneer Kentucky fort, known as Bryant's Station, should bear this fact in mind. Any attempt to play upon the different forms which the name may have assumed in the progress of centuries, is calculated only to confuse the issues involved, and if any person or persons hope to profit by such confusion, it can not be those who are descended from William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, nor any one who possesses the spirit of the true historian.

I have heretofore shown by a train of facts, which to my own mind are conclusive, and which I think should be conclusive to every fair and candid mind, that the proper name of the pioneer Kentucky fort which was besieged by the Indians in August, 1782, was Bryant's Station, and that the distinctive name of its founder was William Bryant. (2) And these facts being established upon broad and ample authority, what then shall be said relative to the statements of some Kentucky historians, who in their writings have dealt with this subject? For it is apparent that some of them have simply followed in the paths of those who preceded them, without due inquiry as to the correctness of certain statements; while one or two writers have seemingly played the role of mere partisans, intent upon establishing out of the confusion which has been wrought, not that the name of the place was other than

1. Bardsley.

2. Missouri Historical Review, October, 1908.

Missouri Historical Review, July, 1910.

Bryant's Station, nor that the name of its founder was other than William Bryant, but that perforce, they should have been other than these. And if, when I have finished, I have not cleared the field of much or all of this needless confusion, I shall have written to little purpose, and my readers shall have read to little advantage.

It matters not whether this confusion was first projected in certain cases which were carried to the Kentucky Court of Appeals, heretofore cited, in which **copies** of land certificates not in conformity with the originals were introduced, or later in the form of mere newspaper articles, or in recent years in the more enduring form of an historical publication and at the same time being engraven upon a memorial wall of stone placed round the spring at Bryant's Station, the errors which they carried with them are errors none the less, and were so recognized and regarded when they were first promulgated, and they become none the less so with the lapse of time. And as every individual or society of individuals who would instruct the public in matters of history, must be held responsible for their teachings, and must ultimately rely upon the accuracy thereof for belief, due regard for well established and well known **facts**, should always be had. And when such does not happen to be the case, it can scarcely be deemed amiss to correct any and all erroneous impressions thereby created, and thus give those who have either perpetrated or perpetuated errors, the opportunity of correcting the same, or of placing the public in possession of reasons sufficiently convincing, not to themselves alone, but to the public also, to justify them in ignoring the authority of historians uniformly for a period of ninety years, and of historians with but few exceptions for a period of one hundred and twelve years.

In the following article, therefore, I desire to direct the reader's attention specifically to certain inaccuracies which have made their appearance from time to time in various publications, to the end that they shall stand corrected in any event, whether corrected by those responsible for their existence or not.

When, in what manner, and by whom then, were any erroneous impressions introduced, regarding Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant? These impressions were brought about, as I believe, in a most peculiar manner, and it is my purpose to now show how they originated.

Land Certificates and Court Decisions.

We have heretofore seen that the original land certificates issued to the settlers of Kentucky by the Land Commissioners who held their Court at Bryant's Station in 1779 and 1780, called the station Bryant's, and that Col. William Fleming, one of the Commissioners, entered the name of the station as Bryant in his Journal. The name Bryant therefore was the proper and official name of the station. We have further seen, however, that in certain cases involving title to lands in the vicinity of the station, and which were carried to the Kentucky Court of Appeals, copies of some of these land certificates were introduced, which called the station, not by its proper and official name, but by a similar yet different name. But we have also seen that these errors, which were immediately recognized as being such, were quite generally disregarded in subsequent cases in the Court of Appeals, and in decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. And the frequent use of the name Bryant's Station, in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, notwithstanding the erroneous name which had been introduced, and the use of the name Bryant's Station, in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, well nigh amounts to a judicial determination of the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's.

The Kentucky Historians.

We have also seen that the historians of Kentucky, as well as the biographers of Daniel Boone, likewise disregarding the erroneous name, and other errors, hereafter mentioned, for a period of ninety years uniformly called the station Bryant's and gave the name of its founder as William Bryant, and this,

notwithstanding the fact that numerous members of a family of similar name had entered land in the neighborhood of Bryant's Station, and had figured as complainants in some of the cases heretofore referred to wherein the name of the station had been changed, and were closely related by ties of marriage to Daniel Boone.

And I now come to the consideration of certain statements by a writer who really introduced about all the confusion regarding this subject, to be found either in historical publications or documents.

A Series of Newspaper Articles.

In 1826, and subsequent years, there appeared in the Kentucky Gazette, a series of newspaper articles (3) in which the writer of these articles gave an account of the founding of Bryant's Station, of a certain hunting expedition in May, 1780, of the siege of the station in August, 1782, and of the battle of the Blue Licks. I would attach only such weight to these newspaper articles as others have attached to them, and as is generally attached to newspaper articles when considered from an historical standpoint, were it not for the fact that in recent years, they have evidently been given undue importance by a Kentucky historian, who apparently knew nothing of facts which have come to light, which clearly show the inaccuracies contained in these newspaper articles; and by another historian, who if of lesser note than the former, was at any rate familiar with the facts above referred to, but who placed upon these facts a construction well calculated to further mislead the public, for the reason that his misconception of the facts was incorporated into and became a part of an authentic history of Bryant's Station. (4)

Of the siege of Bryant's Station, and of the battle of the Blue Licks, the author of these newspaper articles, may have spoken from personal knowledge of the events. But of the founding of the station, and of the hunting expedition, it

3. Bradford's "Notes."

4. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.

would seem that he must have derived his information from some one else. And it is worthy of note in passing that this man was one of the persons who figured in some of the land cases heretofore alluded to in which the station was called by a different name. The source of his information is not revealed. But whether based upon personal knowledge of the events, or whether he received his information from others, some of his statements were so obviously at variance with the known facts, that they could have emanated only from some one either laboring under grave misapprehension or seeking to give coloring to events not warranted by the facts. It is possible that this writer himself may have been misled by names which are *idem sonans*. Nevertheless, it would appear from certain statements made by him, that had he chosen to deliberately mislead the public, he could scarcely have adopted a more skillful plan for doing so. These statements, however, are not supported by the facts, and inquiry as to the correctness of his assertions is not precluded, as, fortunately we are not dependant upon his uncorroborated statements alone for our information, regarding either the founder of the station or the station itself.

Mere assertions, however high the source from whence they come, or however conscientiously they may have been made, can be given little or no weight, when clearly contradicted by indisputable and oft recurring facts. There is a broad and well defined difference between facts and mere assertions, which the discriminating reader will scarcely fail to recognize. For matters of fact are peculiarly free from the bias and self interest that too often distinguish humankind.

Prior to the appearance of these articles, the name of Bryant's Station had become permanently fixed in Court decisions, and in Kentucky history in at least two historical publications, (5) upon the authority of, and with the express sanction and approval of John Filson, Humphrey Marshall and Daniel Boone all of whom had equal if not better opportunity of learning the correct name than Bradford. Marshall had

5. Filson's Narrative.
History of Kentucky, Humphrey Marshall.

briefly stated that Bryant's Station was founded in 1779 by the Bryants, who later abandoned the place under an apprehension of danger from the Indians. If any other persons of similar name were included in this statement, it is apparent that their distinctive name was unknown to this writer. But he was certain of the name of the place and of the distinctive name of the person or persons who built the station. And although no one up to this time apparently had specifically made known to history the name of the principal man of the place, it is a fact that the name of William Bryant could not have been unknown to many persons then living, and his is the only name which really appears to have been known to any persons entitled to be considered contemporary historians, (6) with the exception of the writer of these newspaper articles. And there is good reason to believe that William Bryant was the only man by the distinctive name of Bryant connected with Bryant's Station. This was his name from the time he first appears upon the scene, several years prior to the building of the station, and is the only name which has continued to be so known to the present time.

But at this juncture, the writer of these newspaper articles gives to the public certain statements, supplementing the erroneous name in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, as follows:

"The first permanent settlement made at Bryan's Station was in 1779, principally by emigrants from North Carolina, the most conspicuous of whom were the family of Bryan's from whom the place took its name. There were four brothers, viz: Morgan, James, William and Joseph, all respectable, in easy circumstances, with large families of children and mostly grown. William, though not the oldest brother, was the most active and considered their leader. His wife was a sister of Col. Daniel Boone, as was also the wife of Mr. William Grant who likewise settled at Bryan's Station in 1779."

Here, then, we come to the parting of the ways.

6. Autobiography of Col. Cave Johnson, MS.
Sketches of Western Adventure, McClung.
Chronicles of Border Warfare, A. S. Withers (new ed. Thwaites).

It will be observed at once that this writer called the station, not by its proper name, but by a similar yet different name. And likewise made it appear that its principal man, who was one of four brothers who had entered land (as we have heretofore seen) in the vicinity of Bryant's Station, was a person whose name was almost identical with that of William Bryant. Whether intended to be so or not, this statement amounted to a substitution upon the part of this writer of a similar name for the proper name of the station, and the substitution of a similar name for the distinctive name of its founder. How easy it was then for the writers who followed him to be misled as to the facts. And such was actually what happened. But the reader should bear in mind that they were not misled as to the name either of the station or of its founder, about which there was no doubt whatever in the mind of any contemporary writer, or in the mind of any subsequent writer until comparatively recent years, which we shall notice hereafter; and until certain confusion had found its way into history regarding the station and its founder, as the result of the foregoing statement upon the part of the above named writer. There was no attempt to explain why the station had previously been called Bryant's in Court decisions and in history, and he therefore must have intended that the reader should infer that the name used by him was the same at that used by the historians, although each is a distinct family name.

. What, then, was the result of this statement?

Having introduced a name which though similar to the proper name of the station, and having introduced as its principal man a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, whose distinctive name, while similar to that of William Bryant, was practically unknown in connection with the place, the writers immediately following him entertained no doubt whatever that he referred to Bryant's Station and to William Bryant. And had he mentioned the name William Bryant in connection with the founding of the station, there can be no doubt that his version would have received much less credence than it did.

When, therefore, McClung published his delightfully entertaining book, in 1832, (7) he derived the principal part of his account of Bryant's Station from these newspaper articles, to which he refers in the preface to his book, and unsuspectingly fell into the very errors which, under the circumstances, it was but natural he should fall into. For he entirely rejected this writer's version of the name of the station and its founder, and very properly called the station Bryant's, and as properly gave the name of its principal man as William Bryant. But in doing so, his statement carried with it, rather by inference than otherwise, the attendant errors that William Bryant was one of four brothers by the name of Bryant and that he had married a sister of Col. Boone. Following is McClung's statement, from which the reader may draw his own conclusions:

"About the same time, (1780) Bryants' Station was harassed by small parties of the enemy. This, as we have already remarked was a frontier post, and generally received the brunt of Indian hostility. It had been settled in 1779, by four brothers from North Carolina, one of whom, William, had married a sister of Col. Daniel Boone."

The version of the latter writer, whose book, on account of its attractive and pleasing style obtained wide circulation, was accepted by some of the Kentucky historians (8) and it was not until so late a date as 1874, that any historian saw fit to change the spelling of the name of the station in history. And thus we are presented with the singular spectacle of one historian calling the station Bryant's and stating that it was founded by four Bryant brothers, (9) and of another historian calling the station Bryan's and stating that it was founded by four Bryan brothers, (10) and these historians were father and son. Aye, more. We are presented with the singular spectacle of one writer informing us at one period that the station was Bryant's and that it was founded by four Bryant brothers, of whom William Bryant was the principal man, (11) and

7. Sketches of Western Adventure.

8. History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.

History of Lexington, G. W. Ranck.

9. History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.

10. History of Kentucky, R. H. Collins.

11. History of Lexington, G. W. Ranck.

at another period informing us with equal assurance that the station was Bryan's and that it was founded by four Bryan brothers. (12) Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel! While yet another gentleman has told us that the station was Bryant's and that its first settler was Joseph Bryant, a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone. (13) And a number of other writers arriving nearer the truth, have called the station Bryant's, and have discarded all other names as being superfluous except the name of William Bryant. (14)

Upon one point, however, nearly the entire list of historians and biographers of Daniel Boone have agreed and that is, that the name of the station was Bryant's. (15)

The writer of the newspaper articles alluded to, therefore, instead of having correctly stated that which should have been correctly stated, had simply placed a stumbling block in the path of those who should come after him, and was the direct cause of the four brothers mentioned by him being called Bryant when as a matter of fact this was not their name, and they should never have been so called; and at the same time giving rise to the impression that William Bryant was a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, which was likewise erroneous.

His statement as to who were the most conspicuous of the early settlers of the station, is also open to doubt. That he was entitled to his opinion upon this point, I freely grant. Yet

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12. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.
 13. Mr. J. M. Brown, *The Pioneers of Kentucky*, Harper's Mag., June, '87.
 14. *Sketches of Western Adventure*, McClung.
Chronicles of Border Warfare, Withers, (new ed. Thwaites).
Life of Boone, G. Canning Hill.
Life of Boone, Wm. H. Bogart.
Life of Boone, J. S. C. Abbott.
 15. In addition to authorities heretofore cited, see also:
The Pioneers of Kentucky, N. Amer. Review, 1846.
Daniel Boone, Harper's Mag., Oct., 1859, B. J. Lossing.
The Pioneers of Kentucky, Harper's Mag., 1862, R. F. Coleman.
Girty the White Indian, Mag. Amer. History, 1886, Ranck.
How Kentucky Became a State, Harper's Mag., 1892, Ranck.
Beginnings of Kentucky and Tennessee, The Chautauquan, Dec., 1899.
National Cyclopediae Amer. Biography, Vol. 2, p. 437.
Appleton's Cyclopediae Amer. Biography, Vol. 2, p. 662.
McBride's Pioneer Biography.
Catholic Missions in Kentucky, M. J. Spalding, p. 15.
Western Monthly Review, Vol. 3, p. 113.
Register State Hist. Society (Kentucky), May, 1907, on Henry Clay and George Rogers Clark, Col. R. T. Durrett.
The Westward Movement, Justin Winson, p. 204.
Historic Families of Kentucky, T. M. Green.
Virginia Magazine of Hist. & Biography, July, 1907, p. 83.

unfortunately for his opinion, it is not supported by the facts. That the persons mentioned by him were all respectable and in easy circumstances, is information which must needs be shared with equal pleasure by all. William Bryant was also respectable, and in easy circumstances. And as the proper name of the station was Bryant's, it did not derive its name from the four persons mentioned by him; while Col. Cave Johnson, who assisted in building the first cabins of the station, and had resided there for a considerable period of time and was acquainted with the inhabitants of the station has made it quite apparent that the principal man of the place was William Bryant. (16) And further than this, it is a well known fact that these pioneer Kentucky stations derived their names from their most conspicuous man.

"These enterprises (building stations) were generally undertaken by men with families, voluntarily formed into small emigrating companies, with out the authority of, or aid from the government. When they arrived at the place of their destination a suitable site was selected, and in building their cabins for the accommodation of their families, they were so arranged as to form a kind of fort for their protection and defense. These places were called stations, and generally received their name from the leader of the party. The name of some of those stations were Boone's, English's, Logan's, Harrod's, Crow's, and Bowman's stations, on the south side of the Kentucky river; and on the north side were Lexington, **Bryant's**, Ruddle's, Martin's, McConnel's, Morgan's, Todd's Stroud's, Hinkston's and Holder's stations." (17)

The facts derivable from other sources as to the name of the station and of its founder, completely destroy the credibility of Bradford's statement and render it incapable of belief that the persons mentioned by him were the founders of the station, or that they were its most conspicuous people.

16. Autobiography of Cave Johnson, MS. in possession of Col. R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Pres. Filson Club.

17. McBride's Pioneer Biography.

Hunting Expedition of May, 1780.

As if to add still further confusion, and to still further preclude inquiry, the writer of these newspaper articles gives some account of the hunting expedition heretofore alluded to, and makes it appear that the brother-in-law of Daniel Boone whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, received mortal wounds under circumstances which attended the wounding of William Bryant, and thus leading other writers into the error that William Bryant was the man who was slain while on this hunting expedition. And I now desire to set out his account of this hunting expedition, and then to follow the same with the version of McClung who drew upon this writer for his information, and from which I think the reader will have little difficulty in understanding how the error originated as to the death of William Bryant. And following McClung's version I shall also set out an account of this hunting expedition as told by Col. Cave Johnson in his autobiography, which taken in connection with other unassailable facts, throws a flood of light upon this subject that should dispel the clouds which have been gathering about this subject for a good many years. It is but fair to say that to Col. R. T. Durrett, learned beyond all others in Kentucky history, and the scholarly President of the Filson Club of Louisville, much credit is due for his masterly presentation of the facts relative to the proper name of the station and its founder, and should afford the future historian abundant light upon this subject. (18)

Bradford's Account of the Hunt.

"In the latter part of the month of May, 1780, William Bryan with fifteen or twenty men, set out on a hunting expedition down Elkhorn Creek. After going beyond the point where the paths were usually watched by the Indians, in order to secure success in hunting, they divided, one part of the company was to cross Elkhorn Creek and travel down the

north side, the other to go down the south side with understanding that all should meet at the mouth of Cane Run and encamp together the following night. The party who crossed the creek was headed by James Hogan, who had with them a led horse; the other party was headed by William Bryan. Hogan's party had traveled but a short distance after crossing the creek, before they heard the voice of some one cry out, 'boys, stop.' On looking back they discovered several Indians closely pursuing them; they therefore laid whip to their horses for several miles when in open woods they could see the Indians in their rear. The led horse was left behind early in the pursuit; one of the party had his hat pulled off by the brush, but the Indians were so close he could not take time to pick it up, but pushed on bareheaded. Later in the evening, Hogan and his party determined to recross the creek and come home that night, as they could not discover what was the number of the Indians in pursuit, and if they continued on to the mouth of Cane Run, would probably lead them to where the other party were and might by that means sacrifice the whole. They accordingly recrossed the creek and as soon as Hogan had ascended the bank, he dismounted and waited until the foremost Indian got about the middle of the creek when he fired on him which produced a great splash in the water but whether he killed or wounded him is not known, but the Indians ceased their pursuit. Hogan and the party returned to Bryant's Station that night, and before day the next morning with an additional number started to the mouth of Cane Run to apprise Bryan's party of their danger. When they came within about a mile of the camp they heard a number of guns near the place and concluded Bryan's party had fallen in with a gang of buffaloes; they therefore pushed forward with great speed in the hope of participating in the sport, but before they came up the firing ceased and it being a little foggy, the smoke from the guns which had been fired, settled down and produced so great a darkness that Hogan and his party came within a few paces of a party of Indians who were sitting on their packs, having but a few moments before fired

on Bryan's party which firing led Hogan to that point. As soon as Hogan's party discovered the Indians, they dismounted and commenced an attack; it was met by the Indians with firmness and continued about half an hour, when the Indians, being hard pressed, gave way and were ultimately and entirely defeated. **Hogan lost one man killed**, and three wounded; the loss of the Indians was not known.

"William Bryan and his party met at the mouth of Cane Run the preceding evening agreeable to appointment and encamped there. A little after day that morning, it being foggy they heard a bell at some distance which they recognized to be the bell of the horse led by one of Hogan's party the day before; and thinking they could not find the mouth of Cane Run the night before had stopped a little distance short; the bell sounded by seeming jerks as if on a horse that was hobbled. Bryan, to ascertain the fact, mounted his horse and with Israel Grant rode to where the bell was heard; when they came near the bell which was among low cane, they were fired on by a number of Indians and both wounded, Bryan through the hip and knee (of which wounds he died) and Israel Grant across the back; they rode off and both escaped falling into the hands of the Indians and were taken home after the action."

McClung's Account of the Expedition.

Let us next see what McClung, who derived his information relative to this hunting expedition directly from Bradford's version, has to say. From McClung's account of the affair I think the reader will scarcely fail to understand how the error as to the death of William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, originated.

"One afternoon about the 20th of May **William Bryant**, accompanied by twenty men, left the fort on a hunting expedition down the Elkhorn Creek. They moved with caution, until they had passed all the points where ambuscades had generally been formed, when seeing no enemy, they became more bold, and determined, in order to sweep a large extent of

country, to divide their company into two parties. One of them conducted by Bryant in person, was to descend the Elkhorn on its southern bank, flanking out largely, and occupy as much ground as possible. The other, under the orders of James Hogan, a young farmer in good circumstances, was to move down in a parallel line on the north bank. The two parties were to meet at night, and encamp together at the mouth of Cane Run.

"Each punctually performed the first part of their plans. Hogan, however, had traveled but a few hundred yards, when he heard a loud voice behind him exclaim, in very good English, 'Stop, boys.' Hastily looking back, they saw several Indians on foot, pursuing them as rapidly as possible. Without halting to count numbers, the party put spurs to their horses, and dashed through the woods at full speed, the Indians keeping close behind them, and at times gaining upon them. There was a led horse in company, which had been brought with them for the purpose of packing game. This was instantly abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Indians. Several of them lost their hats in the eagerness of the flight; but quickly getting into the open woods, they left their pursuers so far behind, that they had leisure to breathe, and inquire of each other whether it would be worth while to kill their horses before they ascertained the number of the enemy.

"They quickly determined to cross the creek, and await the approach of the Indians. If they found them superior to their own and Bryant's party united, they would immediately return to the fort; as, by continuing their march to the mouth of Cane Run they would bring a superior enemy upon their friends, and endanger the lives of the whole party. They accordingly crossed the creek, dismounted and awaited the approach of the enemy. By this time it had become dark. The Indians were distinctly heard approaching the creek upon the opposite side, and after a short halt, a solitary warrior descended the bank, and began to wade through the stream.

"Hogan waited until he had emerged from the gloom of the trees which grew upon the bank, and as soon as he had

reached the middle of the stream where the light was more distinct, he took deliberate aim and fired. A great splashing in the water was heard, but presently all became quiet. The pursuit was discontinued, and the party, remounting their horses returned home. Anxious, however, to apprise Bryant's party of their danger, they left the fort the ensuing morning, and rode rapidly down the creek, in the direction of Cane. When within a few hundred yards of the spot where they supposed the encampment to be, they heard the report of many guns in quick succession. Supposing that Bryant had fallen in with a herd of buffalo, they quickened their march, in order to take part in the sport.

"The morning was foggy, and the smoke of the guns lay so heavily upon the ground that they could see nothing until they had approached within twenty yards of the creek, when they suddenly found themselves within pistol shot of a party of Indians, very composedly seated upon their packs, and preparing their pipes. Both parties were much startled, but quickly recovering, they sheltered themselves as usual, and the action opened with great vivacity. The Indians maintained their ground for half an hour with some firmness. but being hard pressed in front, and turned in flank, they at length gave way, and being closely pursued, were ultimately routed, with considerable loss, which however could not be distinctly ascertained. **Of Hogan's party, one man was killed on the spot and three others wounded none mortally.**

"It happened that Bryant's party had encamped at the mouth of Cane, and were unable to account for Hogan's absence. That about daylight, they had heard a bell at a distance, which they immediately recognized as belonging to the led horse which had accompanied Hogan's party, and which as we have seen, had been abandoned to the enemy the evening before. Supposing their friends to be bewildered in the fog, and unable to find their camp, Bryant, accompanied by Grant, one of his men, mounted the horse and rode to the spot where the bell was still ringing. They quickly fell into an ambuscade and were fired upon. Bryant was mortally, and Grant

severely wounded, the first being shot through the hip and both knees, the latter through the back.

"Being both able to keep the saddle, however, they set spurs to their horses, and arrived at the station shortly after breakfast. The Indians in the meantime, had fallen upon the encampment, and instantly dispersed it; and while preparing to regale themselves after their victory, were suddenly attacked as we have seen, by Hogan. The timidity of Hogan's party at the first appearance of the Indians was the cause of the death of Bryant. The same men who fled so hastily in the evening, were able the next morning, by a little firmness, to vanquish the same party of Indians. Had they stood at first, an equal success would probably have attended them, and the life of their leader would have been preserved."

Col. Cave Johnson's Account of the Hunt.

Having now seen how the error as to the death of William Bryant came about, let us next turn our attention to the account of this hunt as told by Col. Cave Johnson, who was an eye witness of the events, he himself being one of the men of Bryant's Station who took part in the hunt. As Col. Johnson could not have been other than an unbiased witness of the events of which he speaks, and was a man of superior intelligence, and a resident of the station from the time its first cabins were built, his account of this hunting expedition is entitled to the fullest faith and credit.

"Hunting in the woods for our meat being a dangerous business twelve of us at Bryant's turned out for that purpose all in one company; when we got into the hunting woods near where Georgetown now stands we separated into three companies, Wm. Bryant the head and principal man of the families and station at that time, headed one of the companies, another of the Bryants headed the company that I belonged to, the agreement when we parted was that we were to meet at night at the mouth of Cain Run of North Elkhorn. Soon after we parted the Indians some twelve or fourteen in number got on the trail of the company that I belonged to (for it was easy

to trace a singlehorse in them woods at that time); our leader Mr. Bryant had lit off his horse to shoot a deer; the other three of us were sitting on our horses when the Indians came in sight—I was the first to discover them; we made out to get off before they fired on us and having the heels of them we went on to the station; on the next day 12 or 15 men of the station turned out and went to hunt for Wm. Bryant and his company who had encamped at the mouth of Cain Run the night before and were out the next day hunting not far from Georgetown; he discovered a horse that was hopped and with a bell on him on the other side of the creek from where he was; he directed the other three of his company to remain where they were while he should cross the creek to the horse and see what it meant—he got over and when near the horse the Indians who were in ambush fired on him and wounded him with three balls; his horse, however, carried him off. The company from the station who were on the hunt of him were in hearing of the guns when they fired on him; they rushed on to the place and found the Indians and a battle ensued; they killed one Indian and got his scalp and wounded several more—five of the whites were wounded—one of them (David Jones) was shot through near the middle of the breast but none of them died except Mr. Bryant who this company on their return found in the woods badly wounded. He was taken on to the station where he died much lamented.”

What then are the real facts regarding this hunting expedition?

It will be seen that, instead of fifteen or twenty, there were but twelve men who set out upon this hunting expedition. And that instead of having been divided into but two, they were divided into three parties. William Bryant the head and principal man of the families and station at that time, was the leader of one of these parties. Another man whom Col. Johnson designates by the name of “Mr. Bryant” was the leader of another of the parties. And James Hogan, as stated by Bradford, therefore, must have been the leader of the third party.

It will likewise be seen that instead of two men having been drawn into an ambushade by the Indians and fired upon and wounded that there was in fact but one, and that man was William Bryant. Upon this point Col. Johnson is clear and explicit, for he expressly says that William Bryant "directed the other three of his company to remain where they were, while he should cross the creek to the horse and see what it meant; he got over and when near the horse the Indians who were in ambush fired on him and wounded him with three balls. His horse however carried him off."

It is therefore apparent that the two men alluded to by Bradford must have been wounded at some other time.

Col. Johnson then says that the persons who were in search of William Bryant and his men, were in hearing of the guns when William Bryant was fired upon. They rushed on to the place and found the Indians and a battle ensued. What now does he say relative to the battle which ensued? Here is his language, and from which the reader will see at once that it was not William Bryant who was mortally wounded in this hunting expedition, but it was the man previously designated by him as "Mr. Bryant."

"They killed one Indian and got his scalp and wounded several more—five of the whites were wounded—one of them (David Jones) was shot through near the middle of the breast, but none of them died except Mr. Bryant who this company on their return found in the woods badly wounded."

There was then but one person killed in this hunting expedition, instead of two, and it is apparent that the person mortally wounded was not William Bryant, but was the man called "Mr. Bryant." There are numerous facts which show this to be true.

First. As the proper and official name of the station was Bryant's, as distinguished from any other name, (as we have heretofore seen,) it is certain that when Col. Johnson refers to William Bryant who was the principal man of the place, he refers to him by his distinctive name. And it has been amply demonstrated that William Bryant, although him-

self severely wounded, did not lose his life as a result of the wounds received in this hunting expedition, but died many years afterward in the County of Boone and State of Missouri.

Second. Col. Johnson twice refers to William Bryant, and twice refers to "Mr. Bryant," in this manner distinguishing one from the other. It is therefore apparent that when he states that "Mr. Bryant" was found to be mortally wounded, he did not mean William Bryant. If he had mean William Bryant, he would undoubtedly have stated that he was the man mortally wounded instead of "Mr. Bryant."

Third. It is apparent that the "Mr. Bryant" referred to received mortal wounds in the battle which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians after William Bryant had been fired upon and wounded and had made his escape. This is in accordance with the statement of Col. Johnson, and the reader should not overlook the very significant fact that Bradford himself tells us that Hogan and his men in the battle with the Indians **list one man killed** and three wounded. It is to be regretted that this writer, who tells us that one of Hogan's men while being pursued by Indians on the previous day lost his hat, but had not time to stop and pick it up, but pushed on bareheaded, could not also have given us the name of the unfortunate individual who lost his life in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians.

Fourth. Singularly, Bradford mentions the names of but two of the leaders of this hunting expedition, of whom James Hogan was one. And by eliminating entirely the name of William Bryant and one of the hunting parties, he makes it appear that Boone's brother-in-law whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, was mortally wounded under circumstances which really attended the wounding of William Bryant, which was well calculated to lead any one reading his statement to believe that they were one and the same man, but which was not the fact.

Fifth. Col. Johnson, however, states that the company of hunters was divided into three parties, and mentions the names of but two of the leaders, William Bryant, and "Mr.

Bryant." It is therefore apparent that he introduces the latter person, whose distinctive name seems to have been unknown to him, merely for the purpose of showing that he was the man mortally wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians. Who then was this "Mr. Bryant?" As but one man is known to have been slain, he could have been no one else than William Bryan, a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, and since his distinctive name was unknown to Col. Johnson he therefore called him "Bryant also," or, in his own language, "another of the Bryants."

Sixth. Col. Johnson tells us that David Jones was shot through near the middle of the breast but survived his wounds. Bradford tells us that one of the men taking part in the hunt, was wounded in the hip and knee, "of which wounds he died." It is possible, but by no means probable that a man wounded in the hip and knee should die immediately, or even within a few hours whilst one shot through the breast should survive. And it is a fact that the man drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians, and was fired upon and wounded "by three balls" survived his wounds for many years, and that man was William Bryant.

Seventh. There was then but one man killed in this hunting expedition, and he was one of the five men wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians. Both Col. Johnson and Bradford state than one man was killed in the fight between Hogan's men and the Indians, and it therefore becomes apparent that Bradford's statement that two men were mortally wounded is incorrect, and there was in fact no one mortally wounded in the first attack by the Indians. A recent writer, recognizing the fact that there was but one man killed, with a kind of logic that is little short of amazing, simply omits all reference to the fact that any one was mortally wounded in the battle between Hogan's forces and the Indians. And after accepting Col. Johnson's statement as true that the company of hunters consisted of but twelve men, he yet omits all reference to William Bryant, and like Bradford, divides the company of hunters

into but two parties, and makes it appear that Boone's brother-in-law, whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, received mortal wounds under circumstances which really surrounded the wounding of William Bryant. And he arrives at this end after announcing that he has gone back to original sources of information entirely for his statements. (19) It would seem, however, that he arrives at this conclusion more through a desire to attach undue importance to a statement contained in a series of newspaper articles, heretofore alluded to, than to give proper weight and credit to the statements of others in connection with other well known facts.

In view of the confusion introduced in the manner heretofore pointed out, it is not surprising that a Kentucky historian in recent years, who appears to have known nothing of certain facts which have come to light, should have been led into further errors. For the statement of Bradford as to who built the station, coupled with the erroneous statement of McClung and other writers that William Bryant had married a sister of Daniel Boone and had been slain while leading out a hunting party from the station, was well calculated to mislead any writer. And the historian referred to, (20) in his efforts to reconcile incongruities, simply lost sight of the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's, notwithstanding the fact that the persons mentioned in Bradford's notes had at a later date erroneously been called "Bryant also," when as a matter of fact this was not their name. And he accordingly changed the spelling of the name of the station in his history. And this he effected by overlooking the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's, as established by the original land certificates, by numerous cases in the Kentucky Court of Appeals and in the Supreme Court of the United States, of which facts he appears to have known nothing, and by the historians who had preceded him for a period of ninety years, and by overlooking the fact that Bryant is a distinctive name, and by accepting, seemingly without question, a statement almost wholly uncorroborated contained in a

19. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.

20. R. H. Collins.

series of newspaper articles which at best can not be said to be anything like a complete or accurate history of the making of Kentucky. If the time honored landmarks of history can be thus easily struck down, then history is little more than an unsubstantial dream, and historical accuracy is like unto the illusive mirage of the desert air. But there are those who are not content that the name Bryant's Station, so long and so thoroughly established in public records, in Court decisions, and in history and biography and the name of its founder, William Bryant, likewise thoroughly established, should be thus lightly set aside upon such meager authority.

In view of the facts heretofore adduced from authorities cited, I feel amply justified in reiterating a statement previously made that the proper name of this station was Bryant's and it is equally certain that the distinctive name of its founder was William Bryant.

What then is the final conclusion, and from which there is no escape?

The statement upon the part of any writer that Bryant's Station was founded, either by four Bryant brothers or by four Bryan brothers, at once falls to the ground. And with it the attendant errors that William Bryant had married a sister of Daniel Boone and was slain by Indians while leading out a hunting party from the station. These errors merely grew out of an effort upon the part of some of the earlier writers to reconcile the name of the persons mentioned by Bradford with the name of the station and its founder. And upon the part of certain other writers in recent years to reconcile the name of the station with the name of the persons mentioned by him, with the result that all of them have been led into equal difficulties. For no one will seriously contend that the proper name of the station was not Bryant's; nor will any one seriously contend that the proper name of the persons mentioned by Bradford was Bryant, for it has been made sufficiently clear from the beginning that this was not their name. This was not their name as shown by their land entries, nor was it the name used by them or their descendants, and it was not

until long after the name of the station had become established in Court decisions and in history as Bryant's Station that any of them were so called, and this occurred several years after William Bryant had followed Daniel Boone to the territory of Missouri beyond the Mississippi.

The Draper Collection.

Many years after the actors in these scenes had passed from the stage, Dr. Lyman C. Draper collected a large amount of material preparatory to an extended biography of Daniel Boone. But little of the material which he gathered consists of contemporary documents. This material is now stored in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison, and it would not be surprising, in view of the confusion which has been introduced in the manner heretofore pointed out, if he too had been misled to some extent as to Bryant's Station and its founder William Bryant, as two recent well known writers, both of whom had access to this material have called the station by a different name. (21) But it is hoped that the reader or writer who resorts to this storehouse of material in the future will find there such an account of Bryant's Station and its founder, William Bryant, that there will remain no reasonable doubt as to the proper name either of the station or of its founder, notwithstanding the fact that some other persons of similar name who appear to have been among the early settlers of the station may have been erroneously called in some instances "Bryant also."

In conclusion I would say, it has not been my aim or purpose, in what I have had to say regarding Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant, to disparage in any way, any person or persons who may have been connected with the station. I have merely sought to place before my readers in language unadorned and free from ambiguity, the facts to properly complete the history of Bryant's Station. This I have done without fear or favor or the hope of reward, in the

21. *Winning of the West*, Theodore Roosevelt.
Life of Daniel Boone, R. G. Thwaites.

consciousness that I have discharged an obligation to the memory of William Bryant, and a duty to his descendants. If I have succeeded in doing this, my recompense shall be in the thought that I have in some degree preserved to future generations the history of times forever passed away, but which should never be quite forgotten by the living so long as they shall continue to revere the memory of the dead.

THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

JOHN CLARK, PIONEER PREACHER AND FOUNDER OF METHODISM IN MISSOURI.

John Clark, according to the records, was born in Scotland, November 29, 1758. He received what was at that time a liberal education. Although designed by his father for one of the professions he early in life developed a strong passion for a seafaring life, and in 1778, at the age of 20, entered the transport service. After various, and some thrilling experiences, he finally landed on American soil. Many of his adventures, if related, would interest the reader, no doubt, but I have no room for them in this paper.

In 1787 he was seized with a deep conviction of sin. He forsook the sea and retired to a back settlement in South Carolina, in order, as he expressed it, to teach school and get religion. After passing through a soul struggle, he finally found peace in believing. Of his new state he says, "A happy change came over my mind which tongue can not express." Soon after his conversion he moved to Georgia, where he found a Methodist society and united with it. Up to that time he probably had no acquaintance with that people. He was soon appointed class leader, in which capacity he formed many warm attachments and accomplished much good. While filling this office he became convinced that it was his duty to preach the gospel. After some time he was licensed to preach and received into the conference, and after five years of faithful and successful service he located, feeling it to be his duty to go further west and preach to the people on the extreme frontier. Soon he started for Kentucky on foot, for he seldom traveled any other way, stopping at nearly every cabin on the way to preach, exhort or pray. On his journey he also held some gracious and wonderful revivals. After a year spent in this leisurely journey he reached Kaskaskia, Illinois, and not long after he settled at New Design, in the Amer-

ican Bottom. Here, as his manner was, he taught school and preached on Sunday at such settlements as he could reach.

According to well authenticated tradition, Mr. Clark in 1798 stood on a rock in the Mississippi river, near the western bank, not far from Herculaneum, and preached to the people on the shore the first Protestant gospel sermon ever heard within the bounds of Missouri.

In the year 1800, John Patterson came from North Carolina and settled on Cold Water creek about 15 miles above St. Louis. Not long after Mr. Clark, who had known him in Carolina, visited him and afterward continued to visit the neighborhood at intervals and preached to the new settlers, and this, notwithstanding a special edict of the Spanish commandant in 1799, forbidding Protestants to preach in or even enter the province. At first Mr. Clark exercised his ministry under very serious difficulties, and the utmost caution was needed to enable him to exercise it at all within the limits of the province. He was living in Illinois, as stated above, and leaving his home he would make his way to a point on the river opposite the Patterson neighborhood. After dark he would be met by some one from the settlement, who would convey him across the river to the Missouri side. There he would mount a horse in waiting for him by agreement and proceed with his guide to a cabin selected for the meeting, where the Protestant American settlers had gathered. To them Mr. Clark would preach. Then would follow a social meeting which would continue far into the night. An hour or two before day the preacher would depart for his home and recross the river before the darkness would cease to reveal his presence.

After the Territory came into the possession of the United States Mr. Clark changed his residence from Illinois to Missouri, but the exact date of this change we do not know, but probably about 1805.

January 9th, 1806, Mr. Clark performed probably the first Protestant Christian marriage ceremony in the Territory, uniting in marriage Elisha Patterson and Lucy Hubbard, destined

to be the most important and influential members of the First Methodist society organized on the west side of the Mississippi river. This society was organized by Mr. Clark in the cabin home of the newly married couple during the same year. The names of those composing the first society were Elisha and Lucy Paterson, William, Asenith, Sanders, Polly, John and Jane Patterson, Gilbert Hodges and wife, John Hodges and wife, Allen Monnon and wife, Amy James and Sally Jamison, sixteen in all.

The home of Elisha Patterson continued to be the preaching place until a church house was built. Here again we find no date, but the best authority so far consulted places the erection of the first Coldwater meeting house about 1808 or 1809. This first house of worship was built of logs in the form of a cross. The pulpit occupied the shorter space, while the projections to the right, left and front were occupied by the congregation. It had four gables. It was a union house and occupied by the Methodists and Baptists.

We have now reached a period in life of Mr. Clark, which at this distance of time is difficult to understand. It seems that his mind underwent a change on the subject of baptism. He had, as we understand, been baptized in infancy in his Scotland home, according to practice of the Presbyterian church. It seems that he now embraced the Baptist doctrine of believers in baptism and that of immersion. For some reason he did not unite with the church, or even ask immersion at the hands of a Baptist minister, but following the example of Roger Williams, he first immersed a Methodist preacher by the name of Talbot, who had embraced Mr. Clark's views, and was then immersed by Talbot. From this time Baptist writers have generally regarded Mr. Clark as a Baptist, though baptism administered in such an irregular manner has never been recognized by them as valid.

In 1811 Mr. Clark united with an irregular Baptist church, calling themselves "Friends of Humanity." In this church he remained till his death.

About 1807 or 1808, after a long season of prayer for divine guidance, Mr. Clark went down the Mississippi river in a small canoe boat to what is now Louisiana, where he spent several months preaching and teaching. He returned through the wilderness alone on foot, preaching wherever he found a settlement; and in 1810 he made another visit to that country, going and returning on foot, and this too when a large part of the way was infested by hostile Indians, and the other part by more ruthless white men. We will not follow Mr. Clark's labors further than to say that he visited and preached as far as possible in every newly formed settlement, often before any other preacher was able to reach them, in addition to his regular preaching places. For all this service he asked no salary and received none. Friends provided him with "food and raiment," when he did not earn enough by teaching to supply his meager wants. He was a welcome visitor in every settlement and was an esteemed and honored guest at every settler's cabin, irrespective of denominational affiliation or belief, for in his chosen field he was above creed. In him love overflowed toward all. In this way he spent the last 30 years of his spotless life. He sowed abundantly what others reaped. How much the churches were indebted to him for this early success will not be known till that day when all things will be revealed. And who can estimate his influence for good upon the early settlers with whom he mingled and to whom he so faithfully ministered in God's Holy Word.

November 15th, 1833, he fell in sleep and was buried near the Coldwater church in which he had preached so many years. The funeral sermon was delivered by Reverend John Glanville, the circuit preacher of the M. E. church, who was then on the St. Louis circuit.

A modest slab marks his last resting place, on which is the following inscription:

“Sacred
to the memory of
Rev. John Clark
who was born in North Britian
near the town of Iverness
on the 29th day of November 1758
and died November the 15th
1833 aged 74 years
11 months and 17 days

Mark the perfect man and
behold the upright
for the end of that man
is peace. (Ps. 37.37)

Oh ye who look upon
this stone
Which tells you I am
dead and gone;
Like me prepare to meet
your God
Before you sleep be-
neath the sod.”

Thus passed one of the purest men and most devoted
Christians of his day. The churches of this day, and the state
also owes a debt to his memory they will never be able to
pay. (1)

JOAB SPENCER.

1. The facts here presented are from the life of Reverend John Clark, by Reverend J. M. Peck, New York, Sheldon Lamport & Blakeman, 1855. As we have seldom quoted verbatim and as we have drawn on so much of Mr. Peck's narrative, we have not found it expedient to undertake to give the pages whence each item has been taken. We have also consulted a number of other works both from Baptist and Methodist writers, but find they all rely on Mr. Peck's little history for their facts.

For the important information concerning the organization of the Cold-water society and matters connected therewith, we are indebted to Mrs. K. E. Davis, of Corder, Missouri, a granddaughter of Elisha Patterson and Lucy Patterson, nee Hubbard. From her I have been enabled to secure important facts not to be found anywhere else.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

THIRD PAPER.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City. The list given in the January Review were from the City Cemetery, Jefferson City, but were incorrectly stated to be from Woodlawn.

Mary Jane wife of Robert Ainsworth, born July 5th 1816.
Died Sept. 26, 1859.

Erected to the memory of William Alcorn, born March 4, 1797.
Died Apr. 10, 1873.

Jesse B. Baber born Feb. 12, 1822. Died Sept. 14, 1878.

Albert Y. Baber born Nov. 13, 1826. Died Apr. 17, 1874.

Hiram H. Baber born in Buckingham Co. Va. Sept. 10, 1795.

Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo. Oct. 23, 1873.

Harriet M. wife of N. H. Baber and daughter of Jesse B. Boone, born in Fayette Co. Ky. Feb. 22, 1794. Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo. Nov. 17, 1861.

Alfred Basye born June 2, 1785. Died Nov. 10, 1856.

Frances W. Basye born May 19, 1792. Died Dec. 12 1858.

Susan Basye Stuart born Jan. 15, 1814. Died Nov. 23, 1895.

Anna Barbara wife of John N. Bauer born Aug. 18, 1819. Died Feb. 13, 1905.

William C. Boone born in Shelby Co., Ky. Aug. 2, 1812. Died Jan. 17, 1885.

Lucy A. Boone born in Jassamine Co., Ky. Apr. 18, 1817. Died Nov. 6, 1898.

W. N. Bradbury, 1827-1896.

Ada Bradbury, 1851-1895.

J. R. Christy died Aug. 28, 1851, aged 35 years.

Virginia C. Cordell died Aug. 14, 1865 aged 55 years.

John D. Curry born in Alexandria, D. C. Nov. 26, 1796. Died July 28, 1863, aged 66 years, 8 mo. 2 ds.

Wm. D. Dallmeyer Oct. 22, 1829-March 15, 1908.

John J. Delahay born May 15, 1815. Died May 9, 1871. (Masonic emblems.)

Hiram Shipman Dewey born at Fort Ann, New York, Oct. 22, 1829. Died Jefferson City, Mo. Apr. 22, 1903.

Catherine Doerner born Nov. 19, 1799. Died Aug. 21, 1883.

W. E. Dunscomb born Feb. 1, 1819. Died July 24, 1877.

H. Clay Ewing 1828-1907.

Georgia Chiles Ewing his wife 1831-1903.

Mrs. Eliza Fackler consort of John G. Fackler. She was born in Albamarle County, Va. on the 14th of Oct. 1826. Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo., July, 1849.

John J. Fackler born Feb. 6, 1822. Died Jan. 28, 1892.

Johann Fellingner geborne 18 Nov. 1815. Gest. 9 Mai 1884.

Job Goodall born March 20, 1797. Died Aug. 1, 1856.

C. W. A. Gordon, Oct. 21, 1827-Mar. 6, 1903.

Eliza M. Topham beloved wife of Jonathan Grimshaw born May 2, 1810. Died Feb. 6, 1876.

John C. Guenther born Feb. 21, 1798. Died Oct. 11, 1878.

Elizabeth Guenther born Feb. 20, 1797. Died Feb. 11, 1880.

J. C. Gundelfinger died Sept. 7th, 1891, aged 76 years 15 days.

Julien Guyot 1812-1892.

Caroline Guyot. 1814-1886.

Henry husband of Barbara Hegkler born Dec. 27, 1832. Died Nov. 15, 1878.

Dearest husband and father thou hast left us.

Here thy loss we deeply feel;

But 'tis God who has bereft us,

He can all our sorrows heal.

My sister Mrs. Eliza H. Hockaday died on steamer El Paso June 16, 1854, aged 45 years.

Anna C. Humbrock June 27, 1817-Mar. 23, 1901.

Mary Ann Jefferson consort of M. L. Jefferson born June 5, 1824. Died Oct. 8, 1844.

Simon Kerl born Sept. 10, 1829. Died Feb. 10, 1876.

Robert J. Lackey born Apr. 17, 1827. Died Mar. 6, 1865.

Susan Lackey a native of Ireland Co. of London Darry died July 5, 1851 aged 21 years.

N. K. Lindeman born June 11, 1817. Died Nov. 26, 1871.

Wm. Lusk born in Cumberland Co., Pa. June 26, 1792. Died in Jefferson City, Mo. Feb. 18, 1844.

Mary Fitzsimmons born in Cumberland Co., Pa. March 6, 1796. Died in Jefferson City, Mo., Oct. 8, 1868.

William Lusk and Mary Simmons married by Rev. M. Woody in Cumberland Co., Pa. June 16, 1813.

Civil Engineer, Editor and Soldier, enlisted in Capt. Roberts Co. Pa. Inft. War of 1812. In the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814.

His life pure and honorable. To the teachings of my mother I built by character. To her motherly advice I am indebted for the position and standing I have obtained. I can pay her no higher tribute. W. H. L.

The children all born in Cumberland Co., Pa. Robert McClure Lusk born April 18, 1819. Died in Jefferson City, Mo. Aug. 11, 1845.

James Lusk, born July 25, 1820. Died in Jeff. City, Mo., Feb. 18, 1853.

Melvina Lusk born Oct. 21, 1831. Died July 11, 1822. Buried in Newville, Pa.

Catherine M. Lusk, born July 6, 1823. Died in Jeff. City, Mo. Nov. 15, 1844.

Martha Jane Lusk, born May 8, 1825. Died in Jeff. City, Mo., Feb. 17, 1852.

William H. Lusk born Sept. 5, 1827.

Sarah E. Lusk born April 6, 1831. Died April 1832. Buried Newville, Pa.

Julietta M. McCall born Dec. 20, 1826. Died Feb. 12, 1895.

Thomas McCormick a native of Ireland died May 31, 1855, aged 20 years.

Jas. B. McHenry born Oct. 7, 1800. Died Oct. 7, 1878.

Susan R. McHenry born Nov. 15, 1809. Died Feb. 16, 1893.

Mary M. McMillan 1813-1893.

- John Mabery born Dec. 31, 1818. Died Jan. 30, 1871.
- Benjamin F. Massey born in Kent County, Maryland, Jan. 23, 1811. Died Dec. 18, 1879.
- Matilda wife of Geo. M. Maus born Apr. 24, 1849. Died Feb. 5, 1908.
- Mary J. Maxey dau. of Hiram H. and Harriet M. Baber born July 3, 1820. Died July 2, 1860.
- Sarah Meredith consort of Charles L. Meredith who died May 23, 1849 aged 33 years.
- Wm. D. Meredith born in Lynchburg, Vir. Feb. 23, 1807. Died March 28, 1857.
- Mrs. Sarah J. consort of W. D. Meredith born Jan. 9, 1812 in Franklin Co., Va. Died on 10 of Feb. 1855, aged 43 years 1 mo and 1 day.
- Philip T. Miller, born May 7, 1818. Died Jan. 25, 1894.
- Maria Louisa Winston his wife, 1817-1901.
- Michael Newman of Virginia born Dec. 26, 1790. Died March 11, 1852.
- Martha wife of Isaac Palmer born Sept. 1, 1804. Died Oct. 9, 1853.
- Susan L. wife of Isaac Palmer and late consort of Thomas Bolton born in Pittsylvania Co., Va. Dec. 22, 1813. Died Apr. 27, 1869.
- Frances J. Parsons born in Albemarle Co., Va. Oct. 17, 1828. Departed this life in Jefferson City, July 24, 1849.
- Patience Monroe Parsons born in Va. Nov. 25, 1802. Died Jan. 30, 1884.
- Gustavus A. Parsons born in Va. June 15, 1801. Died Jan. 15, 1882.
- Emeline wife of D. H. Peabody born Jan. 12, 1815. Died Dec. 19, 1891.
- John Nicholas Petry Oct. 21, 1824-Nov. 16, 1906.
- Philippina his wife Nov. 11, 1823-May 22, 1907.
- Mary Poynter died Mar. 23, 1862, aged 75 years.
- Margaret M. wife of Dr. J. R. Poynter born Mar. 23, 1826. Died Nov. 26, 1848.
- John Price born 1817. Died 1901.

Lydia E. Price born 1823. Died 1882.

Gen. Israel B. Read died Sept. 29, 1885 aged 82 years.

J. T. Rogers born Nov. 17, 1805. Died July 20, 1880. (Masonic emblems.)

Elizabeth wife of James E. Ross and daughter of John & L. E. Price born July 9, 1814. Died June 28, 1868.

Note.—Date of birth is evidently incorrect.

Jennie B. wife of James E. Ross and daughter of John & Lydia E. Price born Sept. 8, 1851. Died Aug. 19, 1873.

Emma Colgan Sandford wife of Alfred Sandford born March 17, 1820. Died Oct. 10, 1886.

Maj. Alfred Sandford died at Jefferson City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1863, aged 74 yrs. 11 mos. & 14 days.

Fred C. Schott born Feb. 26, 1829. Died Apr. 15, 1836.

John A. Schott born Jan. 22, 1791. Died Apr. 20, 1861.

Anna M. Schott born Jan. 16, 1798. Died Nov. 6, 1873.

John W. Scruggs born Feb. 23, 1821. Died June 21, 1900.

Sarah Ann Scruggs born May 18, 1832. Died Apr. 14, 1905.

Frank son of J. M. & E. A. Seibert born July 24, 1871. Died June 30, 1892.

Alex. Sherwood born Jan. 7, 1851. Died Aug. 19, 1895. (Masonic emblem.)

David G. Steel born July 27, 1813. Died Jan. 22 1895.

Margaret A. Steel born Oct. 9, 1824.

Henriette wife of Alex. Stewart born at Wiscassett, Me., Sept. 2, 1847. Born in spiritual life Nov. 23, 1887, aged 40 yrs. 2 m. 21 d.

Sarah Swift born in New Hampshire Feb. 11, 1810. Died in Jefferson City, Mo., April 17, 1886.

Eliza Saffinder wife of the Rev. Saml Saffinder born in England Feb. 7, 1810. Died Sept. 5, 1862.

Conrad Vogel died Feb. 8, 1895 aged 81 yrs, 29 dys.

Virina Vogel died Feb. 22, 1897 aged 78 yrs 2 m. 13 dys

George F. Weiss born Jan. 8, 1807. Died Feb. 9, 1867.

Julia A. Weiss born May 9, 1824. Died July 8, 1899.

Charles L. Wells born Aug. 27, 1829. Died Feb. 3, 1900.

Virginia S. Wells born Sept. 2, 1833. Died Aug. 27, 1900.

Nathan R. Wells Sept. 6, 1826. Oct. 8, 1901.

Martha wife of Harvey L. Williams died at Glasgow Oct. 9, 1854, aged 27 yrs.

Amy Winchell born May 16, 1818. Died Jan. 10, 1891.

Nicholas J. Winston born in Louisa County, Va. Dec. 13, 1789. Died March 5, 1864.

Sally Winston born in Green County, Ky. Jan. 5, 1793. Died July 17, 1864.

Benjamin W. Winston, M. D. son of N. J. & Sally Winston born in Green County, Ky. Nov. 10, 1827. Died Aug. 27, 1873.

BOOK NOTICES.

Recollections 1844-1909. By **Henry Clay McDougal.**
Kansas City, Mo., 1910.

The above work by a member of this Society, is one of the important works by Missouri authors of the past decade. The rarely retentive memory, wide travel, and extensive acquaintance especially fitted Judge McDougal to give the public recollections that would be pleasing and instructive, and of value historically. The reminiscences of public men and well known women, presidents, statesmen, journalists, in great number, make known some prominent characteristic or event, and give them historical value.

In an appendix are to be found a number of papers and addresses, reprinted from former publications. Among these is a valuable historical sketch of Kansas City read before this Society, though the book does not correctly give the name of the Society, but that of another Society in the state.

Colonel Todhunter of Missouri. By **Ripley D. Saunders,** with illustrations by W. B. King, Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, (c. 1911), 328 p.

Mr. Saunders, of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, is the author of one of the successful novels of the day, one that gives a more correct idea of the Missourian of the position and standing of Col. Todhunter, than any other author, who has attempted to give the "Missouri" dialect. Colonel Todhunter is a favorite with the reader; his humor, his story telling and speech making, his entering into the feelings of his young friends, his readiness to fight for his friends, and his unflinching belief in final success, endear him to those who read of him.

We are glad to add the book to our large collection of Missouri authors.

Civil War Experiences of Sarah J. Yeater, written in 1909 and 1910 for my three granddaughters, Frances and Christine Yeater and Jeanette Brockmeyer, Sedalia, Missouri, 1910.

This privately printed pamphlet of fifty-seven pages is a welcome addition to the histories of Missouri during the civil war period. The authoress, a native of Vermont, came to Osceola, Missouri, in 1855 as a school teacher, and three years later married John J. Yeater, a merchant of the town; three years after she was in the midst of scenes of war, her husband being on the Southern side. Much of Osceola having been burned, the families of her husband and his father started south taking what they could in wagons, the authoress having the care of a young babe—one by the way that at the time of the above publication is a curator of the University of Missouri and a former member of the State Senate,—and this trip south was through Springfield, Fayetteville, Arkansas, and on south down the Arkansas river, then she returned north to relatives at Fulton, Missouri. In 1864 she decided on a trip south again to rejoin her husband, and she spent a winter with him in Texas, finally returning north again, and making her home in Sedalia from that time to the present. There is shown no trace of bitterness from the sufferings she passed through, and we welcome the work for its civil war history, and the authoress into the goodly assemblage of Missouri authors.

NECROLOGY.

Miss Anna Collender Brackett former principal of the St. Louis Normal School, who was associated with William T. Harris in the establishment of the present school system of St. Louis died in a sanitarium in New Jersey March 21, 1911. She was born in Boston in 1836, and came to St. Louis in 1867, where she was the first principal of any Normal School in the United States. She was the author of a number of educational works, and was recognized as a leader among educators.

John S. Davis, a pioneer printer and publisher in Missouri, was born in Fairmount, West Virginia, in 1834. He entered the printing trade February 12, 1846, and in 1856-57 was connected with The Western Dispatch of Independence, Missouri. In January, 1858, he commenced the Marshall (Mo.) Democrat, which was suspended in July, 1861. Afterwards he was for a time connected with the Lexington Intelligencer. About forty years ago he joined the Masonic lodge at Lexington. He died in St. Louis January, 1911.

Dr. Susanna Way Dodds, for sixty years a resident of St. Louis, and founder of Dodd's Hygeian Home, died at Long Beach, California, January 20, 1911, aged 80 years. The Society has the following works by her:

Health in the Household; or, Hygienic Cookery, 6th edit., St. Louis, 1901.

The Liver and Kidneys with a Chapter on Malaria, New York, n. d.

Robert Hugh Miller, the founder of the Liberty Tribune, was born in Richmond, Virginia, November 17, 1826. When a small boy his mother moved to Paris, Missouri. In 1840 he

entered the Patriot office in Columbia, and afterward, was with Col. Switzler on the Statesman. In March, 1846, he with John B. Williams, went to Liberty, and established the Liberty Tribune, the first issue being April 4, 1846. A year afterwards Mr. Miller became sole owner and remained so till September, 1885. He died at Liberty February 14, 1911, and the Liberty Tribune of February 17, has an interesting page about him.

Hon. Horatio F. Simrall was born in Kentucky, May 4, 1845. He moved to Liberty, Missouri, in 1869, and was a successful attorney there. He was elected to the State Senate from the Third district in the 33d General Assembly, 1885, and was prominent in railroad legislation during that session. He died at Liberty, January 30, 1911.

Judge John H. Sullens was born in Wayne county, Kentucky, October 13, 1828, and came to Missouri when a month old. For years he lived in Miller county, and in 1865 went to Bates county. In 1873 he was elected presiding judge of the county court; and in 1877 was elected a member of the House of the twenty-ninth General Assembly. He died January 16, 1911.

Col. William H. Wade was born in Clarke county, Ohio, November 3, 1835. He was in the Union army from April 17, 1861, to April 26, 1866, and soon after came to Saline county, Missouri, where he engaged in farming. In 1874 he moved to Springfield, and bought a large farm which was his home until his death. In 1886 he was elected a member of the Forty-ninth congress, and was re-elected twice. For a time he was the only republican congressman from Missouri, and had much to do in the appointment of United States officials in Missouri. He was a member of the Missouri legislature in the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth General Assemblies. He was prominent in the upbuilding of Springfield, and retained his mental and bodily vigor till the end. He died of pneumonia, January 14, 1910.

MISSOURI

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POPULATION AND EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI BEFORE 1804.

The starting point for this attempt to determine as far as may be the number of inhabitants and the extent of settled area in Missouri during the French and Spanish periods, is a desire to test the accuracy of the statements and descriptions for 1804, made by Major Amos Stoddard in his "Sketches of Louisiana." As the official census returns after 1800 have for the most part disappeared, the only available method of criticism seems to be an examination of the source material on population and extent of settlement from the beginning and a comparison of the picture thus built up with the formal description of Stoddard,—the ultimate purpose being to determine extent of settlement at the opening of the American Regime. The sources of information are abundant but as yet so unorganized that the extraction of definite facts is difficult. The official census returns of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis are invaluable, but they are incomplete or altogether lacking for a considerable part of the period. Most of them are preserved in the Spanish Archives and are to be found, in translation, in Houck, "The Spanish Regime in Missouri," or scattered through the secondary works. These statistics might be supplemented and the actual area of settlement determined with remarkable accuracy from the mass of papers in regard to Spanish Land Grants preserved at Jefferson City, or in the records of the local Spanish officials now deposited with the Missouri Historical Society or belonging to the City of St.

Louis. However, these mines of information are unworked as yet, with one notable exception; Mr. Houck in his "History of Missouri" has founded his discussion of the extent of settlement directly on this material. As far as this discussion goes, it is invaluable. Mention should be made also of the local sources for St. Louis published by Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis in its Earliest Days" and in foot notes to Scharf, "History of St. Louis," and of "The History of Southeast Missouri," a collection of county histories of unusual value. (1) This article is based, except for the census of 1787, entirely on published material.

As this material is organized under the local administrative divisions or districts, and as these districts correspond fairly well with the natural divisions, it will be more profitable to discuss each district in detail. The lack of accurately defined boundary lines and of any certainty as to governmental relations between the districts causes little difficulty in the present discussion, as it is usually easy to determine within which district any particular settlement was located. The factors determining immigration and spread of settlement will demand some discussion, but the most important questions will be how many settlers were there in Upper Louisiana during the Spanish Period and where did they locate.

New Madrid.

Following the track of Stoddard and approaching Missouri from the south the first district one reached in 1804 was New Madrid. (2) The southern limit of settlement was about the present southeastern boundary of the state, at Little Prairie, the present Caruthersville; the northern, the settlements in Tywappity bottom, at approximately the present northern boundary of Mississippi County.

Canadian hunters and fur traders made L'Ainse a la

1. The confirmed Spanish land grants are given with seeming accuracy on the Higgins map of Missouri. It must be remembered that a land grant did not necessarily imply permanent settlement.

2. The discussion of early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck; Missouri, II, 103-166.

Graize (the site of the present New Madrid) their head quarters soon after 1780, and a few in 1786 and 1787 settled there permanently. In 1789 a village was elaborately laid out on an extensive scale as an American colony by General Morgan. This is not the place to discuss this ambitious project, its relation with the Spanish intrigues in Kentucky, and its failure largely through the interference of the notorious Wilkinson, but Morgan's ill-fated attempt resulted in the ultimate settlement of a number of Americans. To provide for the government of the new comers, a commandant and a small Spanish garrison were despatched from New Orleans in 1789, thus opening the new district to regular settlement.

The settlements in New Madrid were all to be found in a rich alluvial plain, bounded on the north by a line almost due southwest from the town of Cape Girardeau, which is the northwest extremity of the Mississippi lowlands. The only elevations in the district are Cayley's Ridge and the Scott County "hills," low ridges of varying width from 5 to 19 miles from the northwestern highlands. This elevation had little importance in determining settlement during the Spanish Period. Much of the land to the eastward was poorly drained and subject to overflow. The marshy portion was covered with a thick growth of cane and timber, the dryer land was covered with open groves of large trees. While the soil was extremely fertile, the district was preeminently a game country. The settlements were determined in part by hunting and the Indian trade, and later after the coming of the American farmers, by the drainage and by means of communication. In 1804 the settlements with one important exception were within a few miles of the Mississippi. This strip of settled country began just above the village of New Madrid and extended to Little Prairie, with an outlying trading station on the St. Francois, the present Portageville. The inhabitants were of both nationalities, but the French predominated, though to a less degree in the village and immediate vicinity. North of the village the banks of the Mississippi were too subject to overflow to attract settlers as far as Bird's Point at the mouth of the Ohio and

Tywappity bottom just beyond. The settlers here were exclusively Americans and had taken up some scattering farms perhaps ten or fifteen miles from the Mississippi. The scattered settlements in the low lands along the river north of Tywappity seem to have been attached to Cape Girardeau. The important inland settlement was on Big Prairie, a long narrow and very slightly elevated ridge stretching northward from the village of New Madrid as far as the present Sikeston in Scott County. The excellent drainage and the fact that the King's Highway to Cape Girardeau and St. Louis followed this ridge attracted a considerable number of settlers, American, except some at the southern end.

Until 1796, the date of the first census which has been preserved, the chief sources of information as to the actual number of settlers in the New Madrid districts are the list of names of those taking the oath of allegiance or fidelity and several entries in the inventories of the archives of the district, giving the total number of oaths on file. On April 26, 1791, the commandant prepared a more elaborate report of the settlers coming since the beginning of that year, with information as to place of origin and size of families. This information is gathered together in the following tables.

NEW MADRID DISTRICT—OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE, 1789-1796.

NAMES				INDICES IN ARCHIVES
Year	Dates Recorded	Number	Americans	Number of Names
1789 ¹	November 30	14	14	129
1791 ²	Jan. 1-April 26	78	4	
	Nov. 30, 1789-April 13, 1791 ³			
1793 ⁴	April-Dec. (10 entries)	29	12	
1794 ⁵	Jan.-Dec. (20 entries)	52	26	
1795 ⁶	Jan.-Dec. (17 entries)	70	46	343
1796 ⁷	Feb. 3-June 12, 18	12	12	
	July 21, 1791-May 31, 1796 ⁸			
		255	114	472

1. Houck, Spanish Regime I 319.
2. Id. I 327-331.
3. Id. II 278-279.
4. Id. I 334-336.

5. Id. I 336-337.
6. Id. I 320, 337-338.
7. Id. I 320.
8. Id. II 275.

NEW SETTLERS, JANUARY 1—ARRIL 30, 1791.

Number of Names	Americans	Men ⁹	Women	Children	Single	Total Persons
78	4	33(34) ₁₀	34(33)	110	43	192(217) ₁₁

9. I. e., Married men.

10. Correct totals in parenthesis.

11. Three widowers are entered both as "men" and "single."

It must be confessed that these tables are unsatisfactory as evidence for the number of actual settlers at any given date. They represent, apparently, heads of families who entered Spanish territory at New Madrid, whether they settled in that district or went on. The indices which are presumably reasonably accurate and complete are given for only two dates, covering in each case a considerable period. The lists of names are obviously incomplete, their total to June 18, 1796, being 255 while the index total May 31 is 472. The correct total for the number of persons in the report of 1791 seems to be 217, after eliminating three cases of obvious duplication. In this report the legends showing "whence they came" are so arranged in the printed transcript that it is difficult to determine to just what names they apply.

However, a careful examination of the evidence reveals some information. Evidently the minimum number of American settlers on November 30, 1789, was 14, the residue of Morgan's expedition. If the thirteen days from April 13 to April 26, 1791, be ignored, 37 oaths were recorded between November 30, 1789, and January 1, 1791. There are no lists of names from April 26, 1791, to April 7, 1793; it seems fair to assume that the 180 oaths, the remainder of the difference between the list and index totals, belong in these two years. If this assumption be admitted, 258 names belong between January 1, 1791, and April 7, 1793, that is, more than half of the total before June, 1796. As to place of origin of the settlers of 1791 the most reasonable interpretation of the legend seems to be that 68 families and 204 persons came from "Post Vesen" (Vincennes); 3 single men, all Americans, from Fort Pitt; and 7, one with a wife and child, from "Galiapolis." Of the 177 other names given during the period, 110 are clearly American; the gap in the lists in 1791-3 makes any general conclusion as to the proportions of the total in the indices impossible.

The first census which has been preserved, dated December 31, 1796, which gives the number of heads of families as 159, is in startling contrast to the total indexed for the earlier period. It seems clear that the indices dealt with heads of families, not

with individuals, and that the census was intended to include the whole district, not simply the village; there is no evidence of an abnormal death rate. Excluding these explanations there remains the possibility that the census of 1796 was unusually incomplete, but an examination of the subsequent census does lead to this conclusion. Probably a partial explanation may be found in the importance of hunting and trading and the consequent transient character of much of the population.

These very unsatisfactory records of newcomers up to 1796 are very fortunately supplemented by Peter Anthony La Forge Syndic of New Madrid, in his report accompanying the census of 1796. (3) La Forge came to the village in 1791. His report is a general account of the first settlement and the progress of the district and its general condition at the date of writing. La Forge states that the largest portion of the families still at New Madrid came in the eighteen months after the arrival of the first commandant, which was late in 1789; perhaps from November 30, 1789, to June 1, 1791, and that the population did not increase under the second commandant, 1791 to 1796. The latter found the inhabitants made up of traders, hunters and boatmen, and as trade was still pretty good for the first two years, there was little agriculture. The success of a few Americans who cleared farms in 1793, and the scarcity of game and the removal of the Indians to the interior turned the Creoles to farming in 1794, but it required the scarcity of 1795 and the coming of more Americans to induce the habitants in 1796 to take up farming in earnest. In 1794 the corn crop was 6000 bushels, in 1795, 10,000 bushels, in 1796, 17,000 bushels, while the population for these years was nearly the same. Of the 159 heads of families in 1796, 53 had no property, i. e., were not engaged in agriculture.

While La Forge is plainly anxious to prove the ill success of the second commandant and to stimulate the third, De Lassus, who had recently taken control, to an encouragement of agriculture, his general description is not inconsistent with the

3. Printed in translation in Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 263-273.

evidence from the oaths. We are to see a large influx of population, much of it permanent, in 1790 and particularly in the first part of 1791, then a large number of newcomers in 1791-93, comparatively few of whom took up permanent residence in the district. By the end of 1796, however, the transition to an agricultural settlement was well under way and a steady increase in population may be expected. A somewhat careful though not exhaustive comparison of the names of families in the census of 1796 and 1797 shows that many names in the former do not occur in the latter, a further evidence of the shifting character of the population. The unusually small proportion of women in 1796,—only 50 per cent of the men were married—is additional evidence. For the years 1796 and 1797 there are preserved the detailed statistical census giving the names of heads of families and much information as to domestic animals and products. The arithmetic of the second census is extraordinarily faulty, practically every column showing an error in addition.

NEW MADRID DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

Date	Heads of Families		Women	Boys	Girls	Whites	Slaves	Total
	Names	American						
1796 1	159	66	77	116	105	457	42	499
1797 2	197(216)*	117	112(111)	142(139)	118(120)	569(586)	46(45)	615(631)
	Males		Females			757	74	831
1799 3						690(990?)	116	806(1106?)
1800 4	569		121(421 ?)					

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1802	Perrin du Lac 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1200
	C. C. Robin 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1500
1804	Amos Stoddard 7	-	Less than 1350 Whites			More than 150 Slaves			1500

* Correct totals in parenthesis.

1. Scharf, History of St. Louis; I, 87-88.

2. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, 393-397.

3. American State Papers: Miscellaneous; I, 383.

4. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, facsimile.

5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes, 365.

6. Voyage dans L'Interieure de La Louisiane, 88, 206.

7. Sketches of Louisiana, 211.

Two facts are very clear; a large increase in the total white population, apparently 129, 28 per cent, and an increase of Americans which very nearly accounts for the total increase. For the remainder of the Spanish Period we are forced to rely on the general census returns for Upper Louisiana, which do not give names of heads of families or information as to nationality. The increase in white population from 1797 to 1799,

while less striking than in the former year, was considerable (171) and as far as one can judge from the incidental evidence, particularly from the information drawn by Houck from the land grants, was for the most part American. This indeed is true of the increase up to 1804, as far as it represented immigration. The census for 1800, given in fac-simile by Houck, shows a surprising situation; an absolute decrease of 67 in the total white population and only a little more than one-fifth as many females as males. Both conclusions are inconsistent with the earlier and later figures. An examination of the fac-simile shows that the figures for New Madrid are given in a different and less detailed form than those for the other districts, i. e. they are copied from a summary, not from the original returns, thus introducing an additional chance of error. The fac-simile shows also that the figure "4" might very easily be mistaken for the figure "1" by the copyist. Accordingly the emendation of "421" for "121" for the number of females is suggested. Compared with the increases in the other districts for 1800 this does not give an improbable increase for New Madrid; it gives a reasonable proportion for the sexes (569 to 421) and makes the later estimates intelligible. These estimates are, for 1802, 1200 by Perrin du Lac, and 1500 by C. C. Robin. And finally Stoddard (4) states that Little Prairie had 150 inhabitants in 1803 and estimates the population of New Madrid in 1804 (apparently not including Little Prairie) at 1200 plus 150 slaves. His estimate for the district is then somewhat over 150 slaves and somewhat under 1350 whites, a total of about 1500. He states, moreover, that the population is increasing more slowly than in any other district. Admitting the emendation in the report of 1800, which seems inevitable, Stoddard's estimates are conservative and plausible. As to the proportion of Americans, Perrin du Lac states that the majority of the settlers were Americans; Stoddard estimates the proportion at two-thirds. When one considers that at least one-half of the families in 1797 were American, this estimate seems too small rather than too large.

Evidently slavery as yet played little part in the life of the community. Not only were the totals small but in 1796 and 1797, the only years when the information is given, the number of slave owners was small. The 42 slaves in 1796 were owned by twelve settlers, and 29 of them by five; the 45 (46) in 1797 by fifteen, 33 by six. No statistics are given of free negroes and mulattoes or of mulatto slaves, which figure quite prominently in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

Cape Girardeau.

Next above New Madrid as one went up the river was the district of Cape Girardeau, bounded on the south by New Madrid and on the north by Apple Creek, the present northern boundary of Cape Girardeau county. (5) Louis Lorimier, Indian trader and agent, was the chief figure in its early history. After a long and somewhat chequered career on the Maumee and at Vincennes, he came to Upper Louisiana before 1787 with a considerable number of Shawnee and Delaware Indians and settled on Saline Creek in Ste. Genevieve District. In 1793 he was granted permission to settle his Indians in any unoccupied section between the Missouri and the Arkansas, and guaranteed against interference by any local commandant. As early as 1792 Lorimier had removed to the present site of Cape Girardeau, and here he remained with a few assistants throughout the Spanish Period. No village was laid out; it was simply an Indian trading post. The commandant at New Madrid evidently viewed these privileges with jealousy, but was forced to recognize land grants of Lorimier as far west as the St. Francois, and to consent to a definite line of division. Yet it is by no means clear just when Lorimier was given an independent jurisdiction, except as to the Indian trade. Perhaps his appointment was due to the influx of Americans in 1795-96. The original grant of trading privileges was occasioned apparently by the desire to secure the Shawnees and Delawares as an aid against the threatened invasion of George Rogers Clark under French auspices.

5. The discussion of the early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck: Missouri; II, 167-192.

The southern part of Cape Girardeau district falls within the alluvial lowlands characteristic of the New Madrid District and including the Scott County "hills." (6) The remainder of the district is upland, rising somewhat rapidly from the Mississippi and then sloping gradually to meet the foothills of the Ozarks. The creeks draining into the Mississippi are short and rapid, flowing for the most part due east. Much of the larger part of the upland is drained by the Whitewater and a large number of branching creeks which are relatively long and flow southeast or southwest. For twelve or fifteen miles back from the Mississippi the soil is very fertile, perhaps the best of the Ozark border soils; then a very narrow strip of poor soil and again some ten to fifteen miles of good soil. The settlements in the Spanish Period were almost all in these belts in the White Water valley, chiefly in the more level eastern part, in the present Cape Girardeau County, or in the alluvial districts to the south. All authorities agree that with the exception of a few, perhaps not more than a half dozen, for the most part with Lorimier at Cape Girardeau, these settlers were American. "In geological formation, topography, physical constitution, color, origin and fertility, the soils of the greater part of this area (the first or eastern belt) are practically identical with the soils of the limestone belt of the greater part of the great Appalachian valley in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama." In this "The luxuriance of the forest growth was one factor in attracting settlement." (7) Here the Americans developed the form of society typical of the second stage of pioneer life, supported by farming, stock raising and hunting.

By far the greater number of these Americans lived in a compact territory perhaps ten or twelve miles wide stretching northwardly through the centre of the present county to the rougher country of Apple Creek and including the valleys of Randall, Hubble, Cane and Byrd Creeks, all in the White Water watershed. Farther west along the White Water itself

6. For discussion of topography and soil, see Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 198-210.

7. Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 199.

from northern Scott county and particularly in the west central part of Cape Girardeau were a considerable number of Germans and German Swiss, largely from North Carolina, and still farther west at Zalma on the Castor and even sixty miles from the Mississippi at Patterson on the St. Francois in the present Wayne County were small groups of settlers, apparently German. There were Americans also in the alluvial district south of Lorimier's post and some few along the Mississippi north and south. Speaking generally, the great bulk of the Americans came from Tennessee and North Carolina.

The statistics as to population for this district are meagre. Until the first American came in 1795, there were only a half dozen whites at most at the trading post; the considerable American immigration seems to have begun about two years later. In 1798 Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau reported about 30 American families (perhaps 200 inhabitants) in the district and noted that some were thinking of settling on a branch of the St. Francois some twelve leagues inland. (8)

CAPE GIRARDEAU DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Free	Slave	Total
1799 ¹			416	105 ⁷		521
1800 ²	341	285	626		114 ⁸	740
1803 ³	548(550)*	481(483)	1029(1033)		178(179)	1206(1212)

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1798 ⁴	Lieu. Gov. Piernas	-	-	-	-	About 30 American Families
1802 ⁵	Perrin du Lac	-	-	-	-	More than 150 American Families
1804 ⁶	Stoddard	-	1470	-	-	"a few" [1650]

* Correct totals in parenthesis.

1. American State Papers, Miscellaneous; I, 383.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.

3. Id. II, 403-407. This census is given with some corrections in arithmetic in History of Southeast Missouri, 264-266.

4. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-248.

5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes; 364.

6. Sketches of Louisiana; 214.

7. Mulattoes.

8. Negroes.

The census for 1799, 1800 and 1803, show a large and fairly constant increase in white population, fully 200 a year, 1798-1800, and an average of about 135 for the next three years.

8. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-8.

Stoddard (9) gives the table total of 1206 as the population in 1803 and estimates the population in 1804 at 1470 and a few slaves. This would give a total of at least 1650. He states also that the population of this district is increasing more rapidly than that of any other. If one may assume that the transfer of the district to the United States served as a stimulus to this purely American immigration, this large estimated increase of over 425 in 1804 is not improbable. It is reassuring to note that in this case where it is possible to check up Stoddard's positive statements for 1803, he has copied the census returns exactly.

Ste. Genevieve.

The oldest permanent settlement in what is now the state of Missouri was at Ste. Genevieve, (10) in the fertile river bottom southeast of the present town. The river began to encroach on the original site as early as 1780, and the unusually high water of 1785 compelled a general removal to the higher land of the present site. The original settlement was simply an expansion of the French Canadian community of the American Bottom across the Mississippi, drawn across the river by the importance of the lead mining in the interior. The date of settlement is uncertain but some evidence points to the presence of settlers as early as 1735. Their location here was determined by the coincidence of extensive bottom lands with the crossing place to the lead mines.

The District of Ste. Genevieve in 1803 was bounded on the north by the Meramec and on the south by Apple Creek, the southern boundary of the present Perry County. The settled portion of the District divided itself naturally into the portion fronting on the Mississippi and draining into it, and the valleys of the St. Francois and the Big Rivers, the "Mineral Region." In the first section, the southern portion, the present Perry county, is for the most part a relatively smooth upland with an excellent soil, well watered, covered with a

9. Sketches of Louisiana, 214.

10. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is founded on Houck: Missouri; I, 337-387.

hard wood forest. (11) Like the District of Cape Girardeau to the south of which it is topographically a part, it is identical with the limestone districts which attracted the early settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. In this southern portion the settlers were for the most part Americans, coming in in increasing numbers in the last decade of the century, with some French on the Saline Creek and in the extensive Bois Brule bottom in the northwest corner. Farther north in the present county the surface is much rougher and the soil poorer. Here the settlers were to be found in the Mississippi bottoms and on the creeks. Most of them were French, and by far the greater part at the village of Ste. Genevieve. To the north again, in the present Jefferson county, the country gradually becomes more level and the soil better. Here the valleys of the Joachim and Platin creeks were occupied by French and Americans well up to their sources. Finally there was a second American centre of settlement on the Meramec.

West of this section of varying width and agricultural value lies some of the roughest though not the most elevated portions of the Ozark Highland. From a very early date, at least as early as 1720, this section and its lead deposits were known to the French and worked more or less continuously. Here the evidence of the Spanish land grants is of little value as many of them were simply mining concessions. For the most part these miners did not take up land, clear farms and settle permanently, but kept their homes in Ste. Genevieve or across the river. Indeed there is no clear evidence of a permanent French settlement in the interior until late in the nineties. There was, however, a considerable floating population here every year. But scattered through this district of broken country may be found several well defined "pockets" of fairly level and unusually fertile soil. The most important of these are about Mine a Breton or Burton (the present Potosi) the Bellevue and Caledonia valleys some miles to the southward, and about the present Farmington. All of these

11. For discussion of soil and topography, see Marbut: *Soils of the Ozark Region*; 198-209, 235-244.

were occupied by Americans who combined farming with mining just at the end of the century. Moses Austin's settlement at Potosi was the best known, though perhaps not the largest.

The village of Ste. Genevieve was the most typical French settlement in all Upper Louisiana. (12) The houses were strung along the long village street, each surrounded by fruit trees with the barns and vegetable gardens in the rear. The grain was raised in the common fields in the river bottom. Some time in the early nineties a separate village called New Bourbon was established some two miles distant for the refugees from Gallipolis and especially that one of them, the elder Delassus, father of the last Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, might have a distinct jurisdiction. Not very many came from Gallipolis, but New Bourbon grew to a place of more than one hundred inhabitants and included in its jurisdiction the populous American settlement around the present Farmington. There were very few Americans in either village before 1803 and indeed for years afterward. While the agricultural interests were important, the lead mines, the river traffic and the inevitable trade in peltries attracted the younger men and were the more important reasons for the undoubted prosperity of the villages.

DISTRICT OF ST. GENEVIEVE.

WHITES				COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1745 1	200				10		[300]
1769 2						50 or 60 citizens	
1769 3						60 " 70 habitant	600
1772 4	264	140	404		287		691
1773 5	251	149	400		276		676
1785 6							594
1787 7	259	132	391	9*10-10	30*2260-256		657
1788 8							896
1791 9	388	241	629	13*130-26	42*2760-318		973
1795 10	412	275	687	11*90-20	41*2540-295		1002
1796 11	499	289	788	14*360-50	88*2300-318		1156
1799 12			1081	1*30-4	424		1509
1800 13	769	557	1326	4*30-7	102*3570-459		1793 (1792) 15
1804 14			2350		520		2870

* Mulattoes.

0 Negroes.

1. Gayarre: Louisiana; II, 28.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; I, 62-63.

3. Id. I, 70-72.

4. Id. I, 53-54.

5. Id. I, 61.

6. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 170.

7. Mo. His. Soc. Archives.

8. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 215.

9. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 365-68, 387.

10. Id. I, 324-26.

11. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 140-43.

12. Amer. State Papers; Misc. I, 383.

13. Houck: Spanish Regime; Facsimile.

14. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 218.

15. Correct total in parenthesis.

12. For an excellent description of the village, see Brackenridge: Recollections of the West; 21.

It must be confessed that these figures are often puzzling and sometimes improbable; it is to be regretted that they do not show in more detail the various centres outside of the villages. If the estimate for the population of "Missouri" in 1745, which must have meant a total population of over 300, is meant for the village of Ste. Genevieve, it is almost certainly excessive. In the first place a settlement of this size would have left some clearer traces in the French records; again, in 1769, after a very large immigration from the American Bottom the official report of Piernas gives only a little over 600. The contemporary evidence gives the impression that until the British occupation of Kaskaskia in 1765, Ste. Genevieve was a rather insignificant place. It is certain that it increased very rapidly immediately after this. Then followed a period until 1788 of at first slight increase and then actual loss in population, the total in 1787 being slightly less than in 1769. As it does not appear that any settlements were transferred to other districts, one is reduced to the alternatives of doubting the only available evidence or assuming a steady drain of emigration. It seems clear that the American Bottom was becoming under Virginia misgovernment a very undesirable place of residence for the creoles, that they were steadily emigrating through this period, so that the loss from Ste. Genevieve was not in this direction. The statistics for St. Louis do not lead one to suspect any such steady emigration in that direction; there is no evidence that at any time there was much migration down the river. The internal evidence of the census reports in general gives the impression of care and thoroughness and the settlements were still confined to the village and near by creeks. If the figures are wrong, it is a little remarkable that all preserved in this period share the error. A large floating population attracted by the lead mines would explain fluctuations in the total, but hardly the steady decrease.

In 1788 there was an increase of over one-third. This would seem to be a clear cut example of the effect of the Northwest Ordinance on the French to the east of the river, but the more detailed statistics of 1791 seem to show that the 1788

increase included a comparatively small number of slaves. From 1788 to 1795 there was another period of almost stable population, followed by five years of steady growth which agrees very well with the scattering information as to the coming of the Americans. Stoddard's figures for 1804 are somewhat startling, but would be too small if the absolute increase of the year 1800 were maintained annually; it must be confessed that the increase seems rather suspicious when compared with that of other districts. If his figures (he himself frankly admits them an estimate based on probable rate of increase) are correct about half the inhabitants of the district in 1804 must have been American.

Ste. Genevieve from the first had a large slave population, over 40 per cent in 1772, but with slight increase until after 1796 and then not at nearly so rapid a rate as the white population. Besides serving as house servants and agricultural laborers in the villages, the slaves were used somewhat in the lead mining. (13)

St. Louis.

Unlike Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, the second settlement in point of time, was founded under a definite plan at a definite time; the district also was fairly uniform in natural features and the settlements compact. The boundaries in 1804 were the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Meramec, but the settlements were almost all of them within the present boundaries of the county of St. Louis. This is a level country with the very fertile loess soil, with not very extensive bottoms along the Missouri. A strip some six miles in width on the western

13. The following census returns for the jurisdiction of New Bourbon may be of some interest; with the exception of 1798, these figures are included in the previous table:

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total Population
1795	100	50	150		3 ⁰	153
1796	167	99	266	6*2 ⁰ -8	30*79 ⁰ -109	383
1798						461
1799			445	1 ⁰	114	560
1800	308	210	518	1*1 ⁰ -2	17*92 ⁰ -109	530(529)

1. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 248.

* Mulattoes.

0. Negroes.

border of the present county is rougher land with a poorer soil and was not occupied during the Spanish period.

The village of St. Louis was founded in February or March, 1764, by Pierre Laclède Liguist as a trading station for the Missouri river fur trade. (14) After 1765 and 1766, however, it became a flourishing village of the ordinary type, for large numbers of the French came over from the American Bottom when the English took possession. At an uncertain date not very much later a second and much smaller village sprang up at St. Ferdinand de Florissant (near the present Florissant) some twelve miles to the northwest, and a hamlet on the Mississippi to the southward, Carondelet, now within the city limits. By 1804 the country fronting on the Missouri was well settled for some miles in depth, there were many settlers in the forks of the Mississippi and the Missouri and the Meramec valley to the southward was occupied. There were two small outposts on the Missouri, at the present boundary of Washington county and at the present town of Washington in that county. Early in the eighties settlement crossed the Missouri at the present town of St. Charles, but while this must have been included in St. Louis district for a time it is more convenient to discuss it as a separate district from the first. Settlement in the central portion of the present county of St. Louis was retarded because of prairie conditions and lack of timber.

In 1804 St. Louis and Carondelet were still almost exclusively French in population, and Florissant predominantly so. Farther to the westward the Americans increased in numbers; the outposts were exclusively American. This is true also of the Meramec settlements to the southward. As the soil and topography were fairly uniform, the distribution of settlement was determined almost altogether by the water-courses and timber. While the fertility of the soil ensured the agricultural prosperity of the district, the Missouri river fur trade was its most important interest. Probably the great majority of

14. The discussion of early history, settlements and nationalities is based on Houck: *Missouri*; II, 1-78.

the younger men had been at one time or another directly engaged in it, although the Americans, as in all the districts, seem to have paid more attention to agriculture. The location of the seat of government at St. Louis no doubt stimulated settlement and prosperity.

DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS.

WHITES				COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1764 1						about 40	(40)
1765 2						several hundred	
1767 3						140 families	
1769 4						65-80 citizens	
1769 5	More citizens			but fewer slaves than St. Genevieve			
1770 6						about 500	
1772 7	248	151	399		198		597
1773 8	285	159	444		193		637
1785 9							897
1787 10	587	309	896	21*12°-33	76*177°-253		1182
1788 11							1197
1791 12	585	390	975	23*14°-37	75*239°-314		1326
1795 13	544	431	975	37*6°-43	97*201°-298		1316
1796 14	702	475	1177	34*8°-42	85*218°-303		1522
1799 15			1854	55*33°-88	330		2272
1800 16	1142	838	1980	58*12°-70	133*284°-417		2467
1804 17			2280		500		2780

1. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 20.

2. *Ib.* 25.

3. *Ib.* 53.

4. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; I, 63.

5. *Ib.* I, 72-73.

6. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 75-76.

7. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; I, 53-54.

8. *Ib.* I, 61.

9. Gayarre: *Louisiana*; III, 170.

10. *Mo. Hist. Soc. Archives.*

11. Gayarre: *Louisiana*; III, 215.

12. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; II, 373-78.

13. *Ib.* I, 324-26.

14. *Ib.* II, 140-43.

15. *Amer. State Papers, Misc.*; I, 383.

16. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; II, Facsimile.

17. Stoddard: *Sketches of Louisiana*, 221.

The table shows a steady growth of population with three periods of rapid growth. At the end of the first year St. Louis was merely a trading post with forty men, mostly no doubt young and unmarried. Billon after a careful scrutiny of the local records estimated a population two years later of "several hundred"; he stated also that the increase in population after 1766 was relatively slow. (15) As the figures from 1769 to 1773 confirm this statement, it is safe to say that between three and four hundred persons settled in the village in 1765 and 1766, coming for the most part from the French villages across the river. St. Louis became in two years a settlement of considerable size and importance. Then followed a period of twelve years of very slow increase, hardly as much

15. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 75-76.

as one would expect even in a community where at least one-third of the males were necessarily unmarried. From 1786 to 1787 there was an influx of settlers; if one may assume that this came chiefly in the latter year, the Northwest Ordinance may be invoked as the cause. As in Ste. Genevieve there was no such increase in slave population as one would expect if this explanation be correct. It is probable that the second period of exceedingly slow growth, until 1795, may be explained in part by the fact that the settlements across the river were then organized in a separate district of St. Charles. From 1796 to 1800 the population increased rather steadily at the rate of a little over two hundred a year. Unquestionably this represents for the most part an immigration of Americans. If this rate were maintained for the next four years the total in 1804 would be well over 3000; Stoddard's estimate, and he in this case also admitted that is was based on probable rate of increase, seems conservative. It must be remembered that Stoddard was a resident in St. Louis and that the settlements in the district were compact and accesible, so that his opportunities for first hand information were very much greater than in the case of Ste. Genevieve. The fact that the area desirable for settlement was somewhat limited and that the population of the newer district of St. Charles was increasing very rapidly up to 1804 makes a diversion of the American immigration from St. Louis after 1800 very probable. Billon (16) estimated the population of the village of St. Louis at the transfer as 925.

16. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 76.

DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS—SUBDIVISIONS.

WHITES				COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1791	414	270	684	23*14 ⁰ -37	74*234 ⁰ -308	1029	St. Louis
	91	62	153		1*2 ⁰ -3	156	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
1795	80	58	138	37*6 ⁰ -43	3 ⁰ -3	141	Carondelet
	368	268	636		97*200 ⁰ -297	976	St. Louis
	76	81	157			157	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
1796	100	82	182	34*8 ⁰ -42	1 ⁰ -1	183	Carondelet
	390	261	651		85*197 ⁰ -282	975	St. Louis
	107	71	178		7 ⁰ -7	185	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	102	76	178		3 ⁰ -3	181	Carondelet
1800	69	44	113	58*12 ⁰ -70	11 ⁰ -11	124	Marais des Liards
	34	23	57			57	Meramec
	401	268	669		116*185 ⁰ -301	1039 (1040)	St. Louis
	148	114	262		5*12 ⁰ -17	279	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	113	76	189		3 ⁰ -3	192	Carondelet
	97	76	173		8*27 ⁰ -35	208	Marais des Liards
	75	54	129			129	Meramec
	123	104	227		12 ⁰ -12	237 (239)	Mississippi- Missouri
	185	146	331		4*45 ⁰ -49	380	St. Andrews

* Mulattoes.

0. Negroes.

These statistics of the subdivisions of the district of St. Louis would be of more value if it were certain that the boundaries were the same throughout. Clearly the oldest community—St. Louis proper—was very nearly stationary in population from 1791 to 1800, while Carondelet increased very slowly. On the other hand the exclusively American centres of the Meramec and St. Andrews (in the western part of the present county) show a remarkable increase, shared to a considerable degree by Florissant and Marais des Liards (three or four miles west of Florissant), where the two nationalities mingled. The fork of the Missouri and the Mississippi figures so little as a distinct section in Houck's discussion that it is impossible to generalize as to nationalities.

The statistics as to slavery do not call for extensive comment. At all times the great majority of them were owned in St. Louis proper. It is interesting to note that on the Meramec, the older of the American settlements, there were none, while in St. Andrews after two years of settlement in 1800 there were 49. Evidently these later commers were of a somewhat different pioneer type.

St. Charles.

St. Charles District (17) had in 1804 at once the greatest extent and the smallest population of any of the Districts of Upper Louisiana. It included all of the province north of the Missouri river; even the Spanish grants at Prairie du Chien were nominally within its boundaries. St. Charles again was the oldest of the districts settled after the establishment of the Spanish control. The settlement at the village of St. Charles dated back to about 1780 and to a Canadian trader and his Indian wife. The date of the establishment of the separate district is uncertain. The evidence points to sometime subsequent to 1787 with 1792 as most probable.

The topography and soil (18) of the settled portion of the district, for the most part within the present county of St. Charles, are diversified and determined settlement to a considerable degree. To the east along the Mississippi is a strip of bottom land some four or five miles in width, but too subject to overflow to be suitable for settlement except in the "point" to the southward. The Missouri bottom joins that of the Mississippi at St. Charles village, but is somewhat higher. Above St. Charles the Missouri washes the bluffs except for a few tracts of bottom lands, for the most part at the mouths of the creeks. The Mississippi bottoms are bounded by lower bluffs, the whole county sloping upward toward the north and west. In general, the higher the section the rougher the surface, though little except immediately along the Missouri and the creeks is unfitted for cultivation. The soil of the eastern part of the uplands is a loess similar to St. Louis County, growing more clayey and less desirable toward the west. The smoothest part of the uplands is on the divides between the creeks, but was treeless prairie, and therefore unoccupied until well into the American Period.

The village of St. Charles, situated on the edge of the bottoms, was throughout the Spanish period a French village with

17. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is based on Houck; Missouri; II, 79-102.

18. For soil and topography, see Soil Survey of O'Fallon Area (U. S. Bureau of Soils, 1904.)

two common fields, and peopled largely by French Canadians. While agriculture was of increasing importance, it remained primarily a headquarters for hunters and traders up the Missouri. Very few Americans settled in the village. Another French hamlet was Portage des Sioux, on the point between the Mississippi and the Missouri. There seems to have been some French also on the Dardenne and La Charette, but the great majority of them were in these two villages.

The Americans as usual avoided the villages and took up detached farms. They were particularly numerous on the Dardenne which flows parallel to the Missouri at a distance of some twelve or fourteen miles, and on its tributaries. Here the creek valley was of sufficient width to permit small farms while the wooded upland furnished a range for the stock. The Perruque, the next creek to the north, had a much narrower valley and was sparsely settled. Finally there were a number of Americans on the Cuivre river, some distance inland, on the northern boundary of the present county. The banks of the Missouri above St. Charles were settled to any extent only on two creeks, the Femme Osage and La Charette, the latter just over the line into the present Warren county. In each case the settlements followed the valleys for some miles inland. The Femme Osage settlement was founded by a son of Daniel Boone, was the first Missouri home of the latter and the seat of his authority as Syndic. True to his instinct of following the frontier he later moved to La Charette where he died. These Missouri river settlers were for the most part traders and wanderers; the Americans in the interior seem to have been of the more stable agricultural type. There is evidence of land grants and temporary settlements farther up the Mississippi, on the Salt river especially, but no clear evidence that as yet any permanent settlements had been made among the hostile Indians so far from any protection.

DISTRICT OF ST. CHARLES.

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total
1787 1	53	26	79	4*4 ⁰ -8		79
1791 2	164	82	246		1*-1	255
1795 3	198	139	337		11 ⁰ -11	348
1796 4	237	151	388		7*10 ⁰ -17	405
1799 5			840		55	895
1800 6	584	437	1021		29*60 ⁰ -89	1110
1804 7			1400		150	1550

* Mulattoes. 0. Negroes.

1. Mo. Hist. Soc.; Archives.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 388-89. A comparison with a copy in the Missouri Historical Society shows that the column headings for Freedmen and Slaves have been transposed in the printing.

3. Ib. I, 324-26.

4. Ib. II, 140-143.

5. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 383.

6. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.

7. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 224.

The table shows the same rapid increase of population just after 1787 already noted in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, followed by a period of much slower growth and then a large and steady increase from 1799—the coming of the Americans. As Stoddard stated that the population was increasing faster in 1804 than in any other district except perhaps Cape Girardeau, his figures “estimated partly by official documents,” seem very conservative. He stated that there were about one hundred houses on the mile-long single street of the village of St. Charles; there were only twenty or twenty-five houses at Portage des Sioux. (19) Stoddard estimated that four-fifths of the inhabitants of the district were Americans. (20) Even from the totals in the census returns this seems rather excessive; the following detailed census for 1800 makes it seem even more so, unless “St. Charles” included considerable territory outside the village proper.

Date	Males	Females	Total	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1800	343	231	574	18*22 ⁰ -40	614	St. Charles
	50	49	99	4*-4	103	Portage des Sioux
	89	76	165	5*12 ⁰ -17	180(182)	River Cuivre
	102	81	183	2*26 ⁰ -28	211	Femme Osage

* Mulattoes.

0 Negroes.

19. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 223.

20. Ibid.

The small percentage of women and the very small number of slaves until the coming of the Americans seem to emphasize the importance of the Missouri river fur trade in the community. Even at the time of the transfer the percentage of slaves was smaller than in any of the other districts, in rather striking contrast to that of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

The following table gives the more important totals for the last three census which have been preserved complete and Stoddard's estimate:

Date	Whites	Freed-men	Slaves	Total	District
1796	457		42	499	New Madrid
	788	50	318	1156	St. Genevieve
	1177	42	303	1522	St. Louis
	388		17	405	St. Charles
	2810	92	680	3582	Totals for Upper Louisiana
1799	757		74	831	New Madrid
	416	105		521	Cape Girardeau
	1081	4	424	1509	St. Genevieve
	1854	88	330	2272	St. Louis
	840		55	895	St. Charles
1800	6028	197	883	6028	Totals for Upper Louisiana
	690(990?)		116	806(1106?)	New Madrid
	626		114	740	Cape Girardeau
	1326	7	459	1792	St. Genevieve
	1980	70	417	2467	St. Louis
1804	1021		89	1110	St. Charles
	5643(5943?)	77	1195	6915(7215?)	Totals for Upper Louisiana
	1350		150	1500	New Madrid
	1470		"few"	(1650)	Cape Girardeau
	2350		520	2870	St. Genevieve
	2280		500	2780	St. Louis
	1400		150	1550	St. Charles
	9020		1320	(10340)	Stoddard's Totals
	8850		(1500)	(10350)	Totals for Upper Louisiana

As there were 179 slaves in Cape Girardeau by the census of 1803, there must have been at least 180 slaves at the time of Stoddard's estimate. The discrepancies in Stoddard's totals arose from his allowance for traders and trappers.

Stoddard, then, estimated an increase of about fifty per cent from 1800 to 1804, which corresponds very closely to the actual increase as shown by the census returns for 1799 and 1800; in other words his figures are not intrinsically improbable. As we have seen, the estimates by districts do not arouse suspicion except in the case of Ste. Genevieve. It seems, therefore, a safe and conservative statement that the total population of Upper Louisiana at the time of the transfer

was between nine and ten thousand, of which a majority was American and over fifteen per cent slave.

As to distribution, these settlers were to be found along the Mississippi from the present southeast corner of the state to New Madrid, and from the mouth of the Ohio northward to Cape Girardeau. In this lowland district the only important settled area back from the river was the long narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. Americans and French lived side by side in the town and along the river to the southward; the other settlements were for the most part exclusively American. From Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec the strip along the river is rough and relatively undesirable, and was settled only at the mouths of the creeks and along their courses and in the bottoms at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule, in the present Perry County. The settlers were for the most part French except on the more northern creeks. Some miles back on the rolling uplands of the present Cape Girardeau and Perry Counties was a district differing little in natural conditions, inhabitants and social conditions from the typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. This was true to a less degree, because of the lead mines, of the "pockets" of settlement in the mineral region. The lower Meramec again was an American district. Between the Meramec and the Missouri natural conditions are uniform and settlements had sprung up wherever there was water and timber. St. Louis was a French village, while on the Meramec and the Upper Missouri the Americans were in control; over the rest of the district the two races were more or less mingled, the French predominating in the hamlets. North of the Missouri the French were to be found in the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, while the Americans had settled on the creeks flowing into the Missouri and the Mississippi.

As yet, however, the Americans with a few exceptions, notably in New Madrid, were living on detached farms or in small groups, while the villages and the commerce and industry were almost altogether French. In government and politics also the Latin methods and ideals prevailed. Although the numerical majority of the settlers were of American origin, the Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun.

JONAS VILES.

THE CAPTURE OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781.

I.

On January 2, 1781, a military force set out from St. Louis to attack the British post of St. Joseph. This was situated upon the St. Joseph River, which flows into the southeastern extremity of Lake Michigan, and appears to have stood near the site of the present town of Niles, in Michigan. (1) The distance to be traversed was, consequently, about 400 miles. (2) There was no British establishment nearer to St. Louis.

The detachment was commanded by the officers of the second militia company of St. Louis (3)—Eugene Pourre, captain, Charles Tayon, ensign, and Louis Chevalier. The last mentioned was given, by Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, the special appointment, for the occasion, of interpreter to the expedition, on account of his familiarity with the languages of the Indians. The sergeants, Louis Honore and Joseph Labuxiere, appear in this position in the roster of the first company, (4) it is not improbable a transfer was made to relieve older men.

1. In 1888, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Collections, XI, 113n.2, 178n.5, Thwaites was of opinion that it was "located....a short distance below the present city of South Bend," Indiana. In 1905, however, he had reverted, *France in America*, New York, 1905, p. 290, to the more generally accepted view, of Mason, *Chapters from Illinois history*, Chicago, 1901, p. 298; also Thwaites, *Early westward travels*, I, 117n.85.

2. Thwaites, *France in America*, p. 290. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781, gives the distance as 210 leagues; the *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 12, 1782, as translated by John Jay, says 220 leagues.

3. Houck, *History of Missouri*. Chicago, 1908. II, 42. Formation of 2d company approved, Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781, *Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections*, XVIII, 426; same in Houck, *Spanish regime in Missouri*, Chicago, 1909, I, 204. Roster of 2d company, December 20, 1780. Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 186-189.

4. Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 184.

The Indian allies were led by the chiefs El Heturno and Naquiguen, who were, evidently, well known for their hostility to the British. (5)

The force under Pourre's command consisted of 65 militiamen and 60 Indians. The numbers, as might be expected, vary in each different account. Pourre and his officers, in the statement of February 12, (6) say that the detachment was 120 men—the five men who signed the document may not have been included in the total. The Indians of St. Joseph, in making their excuses to De Peyster, the British commander at Detroit, for the failure to protect their traders, said there were "one hundred white people and eighty Indians" (7) in the attacking party, but the occasion demanded some exaggeration. Richard McCarty, a Virginian officer in Illinois, mentions "30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians." (8) McCarty is undoubtedly right in saying that only 50 militiamen went from St. Louis, for Malliet with his forces of a dozen joined the expedition after it had started. (9) But he is wrong in regard to the Indians, for those that accompanied Pourre were likewise added on the Illinois River. (10) McCarty's figures can not be taken to represent the final make-up of the expedition, even if, as is doubtful, he was in a position to obtain the information at first hand.

As outposts to watch the movements of the British and to

5. "El Heturno" is the Spanish rendering of the French "Le Tourneau," his name is also given as Siggenake. The two chiefs are frequently mentioned together, thus in De Peyster's rimed speech, July 4, 1779: "Sly Siggenak and Naakewoin," Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384. They opposed Langlade during the attack on St. Louis in 1780, Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780, no. 6. De Peyster refers to them, in connection with the expedition of 1781, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections, X, 454, as "outcasts of their nations," and "runnagade chiefs." He speaks of Siggenake as "the disaffected Milwaukee chief," De Peyster to Haldimand, May 2, 1779, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 380. Mottin de la Balme noted that "Le Tourneau at the Illinois River is an important chief," Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 588. The Indians who accompanied Mottin de la Balme's expedition, in November, 1780, were led by Siggenake, Houck, History of Missouri, I, 309. For further notes on his career see Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384n53.

6. See below p. 8.

7. Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 453.

8. McCarty to Slaughter, January 27, 1781, Calendar of Virginia state papers, 1, 465.

9. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781.

10. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

gain, if possible, the adherence of the Indians, Cruzat had, in November, 1780, placed a force of 40 militiamen under Boucher de Monbreun with the Sac Nation on the Mississippi, and 12 militiamen under Jean Baptiste Malliet on the Illinois River. (11) The latter party being on the line of march was incorporated into the expedition. (12)

The route followed was by the Mississippi to the Illinois River, and up the latter to the vicinity of the present Peoria. Malliet joined Pourre at a place that he designates "*la mauvaise terre sur la rivierre des illinois*," where the expedition was on January 9th, a week after its departure. "Los Pes," 80 leagues from St. Louis, was reached on the 20th of the month. Thus far they had kept to the water, but from this point, as the river had frozen over, it was necessary to continue the journey on foot. The boats and unnecessary articles were cached, the provisions and ammunition were distributed among the men, and the goods for presents to the Indians were loaded upon a few horses obtained, presumably, in the country. Under such conditions the march of 130 leagues was a serious undertaking. It occupied 20 days, and there could have been little exaggeration in Cruzat's statement that the detachment "experienced all that can be imagined of cold, peril and hunger." (13)

Arrived, at nightfall, within two leagues of their destination, Pourre sent off a young Pottawatomie named Lajes to persuade the 200 Indians in St. Joseph—"who were staying at

11. Cruzat to Galvez, November 14, 1780, no. 7. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422, and Houck, Spanish regime, I, 201.

12. Malliet to Cruzat January 9, 1781. On Malliet, over whom there has been much futile discussion, see American state papers, Public lands, 111, 476-486; Inhabitants of "the Pees" to Rocheblave, January 26, [1778?], Chicago Historical Society, Collection, IV, 397-398; St. Clair to Washington, Report, March 5th to June 11th, 1790; Smith, St. Clair papers, Cincinnati, 1882, II, 176; Alford Illinois State Historical Library, Collections, II, 230 n.2; Thwaites, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422 n.33.

De Peyster had sent an expedition from St. Joseph against Malliet's settlement at "the Pees" in 1780, but the people had left before its arrival. De Peyster to Haldimand, August 31, 1780, De Peyster to Bolton, October 28, 1780, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X 424, XIX, 578.

13. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

that post for the protection of the traders" (14)—to remain neutral. The assurance that they would receive half of the booty elicited the desired promise. (15) On February 12th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the whole detachment crossed the river on the ice, and had seized the post before the enemy had time to use their weapons. They took prisoner "the famous Dugut" (16) and seven of his engages, apparently the only persons there besides the Indians. These, with an English flag they had with them, were subsequently delivered to Cruzat at St. Louis.

All the goods in the place were divided between the Indians on the expedition and those of St. Joseph; the militiamen were prohibited from taking anything what ever for themselves. Three hundred sacks of corn were destroyed, as well as other provisions which had been accumulated in view of the projected attack on the Mississippi settlements.

During the occupation, which lasted twenty-four hours, the Spanish flag was kept flying; and, with the date of February 12, 1781, (17) Pourre and his officers drew up and signed a formal document taking possession, by right of conquest, in the name of "Sa Magestee tres Catholique le roix Despaigne" of the post of St. Joseph and its dependencies, and of the rivers St. Joseph and Illinois.

This accomplished the detachment took its departure, and reached St. Louis again on the 6th of March, without the loss

14. Indian tribes were expected to defend their traders; cf. Sinclair to Powell, June 6, 1781, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 638. After the event the Indians of St. Joseph went to Detroit to exculpate themselves "for having suffered the enemy to carry off their traders," Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist., Soc., Collections, X, 453-455.

15. "Puez el interez es su primer mobil," Cruzat says. "It was the goods and the goods only that made the Mamies and Pottewattimies strike Le Balm and the Creoles," De Peyster to Haldimand, May 27, 1781, Mich., Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 482.

16. Cruzat to Galvez November 13, 1780, no. 6, reports that he has definite news of the arrival of a Montreal merchant, named Duguet, at St. Joseph, with goods for the purpose of raising the Indians against the Spanish settlements. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, says "Il ya au fort St. Joseph le sieur Dugue, capitaine, Rheille, Lieutenant, et Campion, enseigne, avec quantite de marchandises." His name, which appears as Du Gay, is not prominent in the correspondence of Sinclair or De Peyster; cf. Mich. Hist. Soc. Collections, XIX, 500; X, 400, 435-436.

17. See below p. 8.

of a single man. (18) On the English side two men, who had attempted to escape, were overtaken by the Indian allies and killed.

The day following the departure of the Spanish force Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre arrived at St. Joseph; he was unable to induce the Indians to go in pursuit, while they "insisted on his conducting them to Detroit"—in the opposite direction." (19)

II.

This incident of the capture of St. Joseph by the Spaniards found a place in historical literature with the issue of the *Gazeta de Madrid* for March 12, 1782. The statement there published seems to have had some further dissemination for a month later, on April 12, Franklin, then at Passy, wrote to Livingston: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country." On April 28, John Jay sent to Livingston, from Madrid, a copy of the Spanish account with an English translation, "as literal as I can make it." This was printed, in 1821, in the Secret journals of the acts and proceedings of Congress, vol. 4; and, in 1830, in Jared Sparks's Diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution, vol. 8. Franklin's letter appeared in vol. 2 of the same

18. The approval of the King of Spain was communicated by [Joseph de] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 207.

19. Sinclair notified Haldimand, May 29, 1780, "I propose sending a Captain of Militia to St. Joseph's, one to La Ray and one to St. Mary's." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 553-554; Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XI, 153. Dagneau de Quindre was assigned to St. Joseph. He raised the Pottawatomies after Hamelin's attack on St. Joseph, De Peyster to Haldimand, January 8, 1781; to Powell, January 8, 1781; to Powell March 17 1781; Haldimand to De Peyster April 10, 1781; Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 450-451, XIX, 591-592; XIX, 600-601; X, 465. The credit for this service was afterwards given to Campton a trader, Sinclair to Mathews, February 23, 1781; to Powell, May 1, 1781; to [Haldimand], May 12, 1781; Mathews to Sinclair, June 1, 1781, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 629; XIX, 632; X, 480; X, 488. Sinclair was "sorry that Lieut. De Quindre did not attend that post when Mr. Campton's affairs called him from St. Joseph's" to Michillmackinac.

There was no "English garrison" as Thwaites and others have assumed. Haldimand to Powell, June 23, 1781. "Troops being sent for the protection of one or of a few traders is out of the question." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 642.

collection, and, in 1840, in vol. 9 of his *Works*, edited by Sparks.

From these sources the episode was incorporated into such writings as the *History of Indiana*, by John B. Dillon, 1843, 2d ed., 1859; *Annals of the West*, by James H. Perkins, 1846, various eds. to 1858; and *The pioneer history of Illionis*, by John Reynolds, 1852, reprinted 1887.

Other documents bearing on the subject have been more recently published. The *Calendar of Virginia state papers*, vol. 1, 1875, contained an allusion in the letter written January 27, 1781, by Richard McCarty to Colonel George Slaughter. The *Calendar of the Haldimand Collection*, included in the *Report on Canadian archives*, by Douglas Brymner, 1886, made known the existence of letters between British officers who were cognizant of the event. These letters were published in full in the *Collection of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, vol. 10, 1888, and vol. 19, 1892. Within the last few years one or two Spanish documents have been made public in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. 18, 1908, and (the same documents) in Louis Houck's *Spanish regime in Missouri*, 1909.

Meanwhile historical writers interested in the Northwest have not overlooked the subject, (20) and on two occasions it has been made the topic of independent studies—Edward G. Mason's "*March of the Spaniards across Illinois*," *Magazine of American History*, vol. 15, 1886, republished in his *Chapters from Illinois history*, 1901; and, C. W. Alvord's "*Conquest of*

20. For example: Poole, W. F. in Winsor's *Narrative and critical history of America*, vol. 6. Boston, 1887. p. 743.

Hinsdale, B. F. *Old Northwest*. New York, 1888. pp. 173-174.

Moses, John. *Illinois*, vol. 1. Chicago, 1889. pp. 170-172.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *The winning of the west*, vol. 2. New York, 1889. p. 179.

Winsor, Justin. *The westward movement*. Boston, 1897. pp. 188-189.

Parrish, Randall. *Historic Illinois*. Chicago, 1905. pp. 150-161.

Thwaites, R. C. *France in America*. New York, 1905. pp. 290-291.

Van Tyne, C. H. *The American revolution*. New York, 1905. pp. 286-287.

Alvord, C. W. in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. 2, pp. xcii-xciii, cf. p. 231 n. 2.

Bogges, A. C. *The settlement of Illinois*. Chicago, 1908. p. 38.

Houck, Louis. *History of Missouri*, vol. 2. St. Louis, 1908. pp. 42-43.

Schuyler, R. L. *The transition in Illinois from British to American government*. New York, 1900. pp. 98-99.

Chadwick, F. E. *The relations of the United States and Spain*. Diplomacy. New York, 1909. pp. 23-24.

St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781," *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 2, 1908.

The account of the expedition given in the present paper is based on the original documents of which the report in the *Gazeta de Madrid* is a condensation, and which are now in the possession of the University of California. They form part of the Pinart-Bancroft collection in the custody of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. The most important of these documents are the letters of Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, and Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781, with the "act of possession" of February 12, 1781, signed by the officers of the expedition.

There have been noticeable divergencies of opinion among historical writers as to the object with which the expedition was undertaken. It is true the Spanish account published in 1782 stated Cruzat's reasons for sending it out, but these have been uniformly ignored. On the other hand, the origin of the venture has been discovered in the inspiration given by the news of the capture of Mobile by Galvez in March, 1780; or in the desire of the Spaniards to be revenged on the English for the attack on St. Louis in May of the same year; it has also been regarded as "a mere plundering foray." These suggestions do not explain, however, the emergency that necessitated a march of eight hundred miles or more in the depth of winter, and they are wholly without the support of documentary evidence.

The more generally accepted opinion is that the expedition was sent out for the purpose of strengthening the Spanish claim to the territory east of the Mississippi." There is evidence which, at first sight, appears to bear out this conclusion.

In the first place, it was the view taken by both Franklin and Jay, who were, respectively, in France and Spain, when the news of the event reached them. Franklin was convinced that the expedition was a result of the policy of the Spanish court "to coop us up within the Allegheny Mountains." (21) Jay wrote Livingston: "When you consider the ostensible

21. Franklin to Livingston, April 12, and August 12, 1782, Wharton, *Revolutionary diplomatic correspondence*, V. 300, 637.

“object of this expedition, the distance of it, the formalities
 “with which the place, the country, and the river were taken
 “possession of in the name of his Catholic majesty, I am per-
 “suaded it will not be necessary for me to swell this letter with
 “remarks that would occur to a reader of far less penetration
 “than yourself.” (22)

In the second place, the subjugation of the territory had been contemplated. The French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, communicated to Congress, in 1780, “certain articles
 “which his catholick magesty deemed of great importance to
 “the interests of his crown.” The fourth of these was: “That
 “the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon
 “the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclama-
 “tion [of 1763], are possessions of the crown of Great Britian,
 “and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be
 “employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for
 “the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made
 “during the present war.” (23) The conquest was actually made in February, 1781, and formal possession taken of the country.

In the summer of 1782 when Jay discussed the boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States with the Conde de Aranda, the latter objected to the line of the Mississippi River. He argued “that the western country
 “had never belonged to or been claimed as belonging to the
 “ancient colonies. That previous to the last war it had be-
 “longed to France, and after its cession to Britain remained a
 “distinct part of her dominions, until, by the conquest of West
 “Florida and certain parts on the Mississippi and Illinois, it came vested in Spain.” As M. de Rayneval said, “The ques-
 “tion between Spain and the United States of North America
 “[was], how to regulate their respective limits toward the
 “Ohio and the Mississippi.” (24)

The conclusion, then, seems almost inevitable that the ex-

22. Jay to Livingston, April 28, 1782, Wharton, *op. cit.*, V, 634.

23. Secret journals of Congress, IV, 72.

24. Jay to Livingston, November 17, 1782, Wharton, *op. cit.*, VI, 22, 25.

pedition under Pourre was sent out by direction of the Spanish court to subserve the ends of European diplomacy.

If this view is accepted a sufficient reason is found for the mid-winter march, but, on the other hand, the conduct of the Spanish officials in Louisiana and Spain becomes incomprehensible. It must be assumed that Cruzat, after displaying exemplary alertness in sending out the expedition, and while cognizant that important interests were at stake, deliberately waited from March 6 until August 6 before writing his official report. It must be assumed that Galvez allowed two months to elapse before transmitting to Spain, under date of October 26, (25) the information that the project had been successful. And, finally, it must be assumed that the report, upon which the claim to a great territory was based, was in the hands of the court for at least two months (26) more before it was published.

That the Spanish court was responsible neither for the expedition nor for the claims founded upon it, is proved, almost beyond question, by Jay himself. In a report made to Congress, dated August 17, 1786, he says: "[The paragraph in the 'Madrid Gazette] is the only circumstance or transaction 'which your secretary recollects to have heard while in Spain, 'which induced him to suppose that his catholic majesty 'wished to acquire any lands east of the Mississippi, except 'the Floridas. Neither count de Florida Blanca, nor Mr. 'Gardoqui, who was then employed, nor Mr. Del Campo, ever 'hinted to your secretary that a cession of any territory was 'expected or desired of the United States; all that was then 'insisted upon was our quitting all claim to the navigation of 'the Mississippi below our territories.'" (27)

It was in Paris, however, that La Luzerne received his instructions in regard to the articles he communicated to Con-

25. [Joseph del] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782, (in reply to his letter of October 26, 1781), Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 207.

26. The reply is dated January 15, the article appeared in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 12.

27. Secret Journals of Congress, IV, 66.

gress, and it was in Paris that Jay heard of the claims to the territory north of the Ohio. There can be little doubt that it was Vergennes and Aranda who contemplated the conquest of these lands in 1780, and who claimed them in 1782, on the basis of a conquest which they could have done nothing to promote. (28)

The expedition was the direct result of information Cruzat had received of active preparations by the English for a second attack on St. Louis in the spring of 1781. The advantage resulting from the success of the expedition, according to the Spanish account of 1782, was that the destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had at St. Joseph, made it impossible for them to execute their plan of attacking St. Louis; and in addition to this the appearance of a Spanish force served to intimidate the Indians in that vicinity, and to oblige them to remain neutral, "which they do at present."

Cruzat's correspondence shows how ominous the English preparations appeared to him. (29) Of the immediate reason for sending out the expedition we are also informed. On July 8, 1780, Sinclair writing to Haldimand, in regard to the failure of the attack on St. Louis in May, continues: "A like disaster 'can not happen next year, and I can venture to assure your 'Excellency that one thousand Scioux... will be in the field in 'April under Wabasha.'" (30) On December 19, Cruzat writing to Galvez, in regard to the attack planned by the English for 1781, says: "I have news also that the great chief of the Sios '[Sioux] tribe... is returning to his tribe from Michely Maki-nak,... with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, 'not only to arouse his tribe but also those who

28. On the interest shown by Vergennes in the west see Turner, "The policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the period of Washington and Adams," *American historical review*, X, 253-255.

29. Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780, no. 6; November 14, no. 4; November 14, no. 7; December 18; January 18, 1781; December 2, and 19, *Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections*, XVIII, 412-413, 413-415; Houck, *Spanish regime*, 1, 175, 175-177. Also John Todd, Jr., to Jefferson February 1, 1781; "the Spanish and American Illinois settlements are preparing defensively for heavy attacks." *Calendar of Virginia state papers*, 1, 481; *Chic. Hist. Soc., Collection*, IV, 341.

30. Sinclair to Haldimand, Michillimackinac, July 8, 1780, *Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections*, IX, 559.

"are near him. Since this Chief called La "Oja [otherwise La Feuille, and Wabasha] exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe "and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will "obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them." Cruzat here adds, significantly: "Nevertheless, in order to "destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform your Lordship after they have "been executed." (31) Just two weeks later the detachment of St. Louis militia under Pourre set out to attack the nearest English post, which was St. Joseph.

If anything is wanting to complete the evidence it is supplied by the fact that Cruzat had before him the example of George Rogers Clark who, in 1779, had undertaken a similar march for a similar purpose. On December 17, 1778, Hamilton, lieutenant-governor at Detroit, retook Vincennes from the Virginians. After this success he set about making extensive preparations for an attack on the Illinois settlements in the ensuing spring. To ward off this blow Clark resorted to the bold expedient of leading his men 200 miles across country in mid-winter. He took Vincennes again on February 24. It seems probable that this example had an important influence on Cruzat's determination.

Without valid evidence—which has not yet been brought forward—in disproof of it, the reason for the expedition given in the official Spanish account must necessarily be accepted. In the emergency that confronted him Cruzat took what he believed to be the best measures to protect St. Louis against impending attack.

III.

To complete this presentation of the subject, another explanation of the origin of the expedition must be noticed, not

31. Cruzat to Galvez, December 19, 1780, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 413-414; Houck, Spanish regime, 1, 176.

because of its having either merit or probability, but because the author speaks with the prestige of a professor in the University of Illinois.

Professor Alvord says: "It is quite evidence that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their friends who had been sent out by [Mottin] de la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph." (32) He repudiates the Spanish account of the occurrence on the ground that "there is sufficient warrant to suspect the truth of almost every one" of the following points: "First, [that] the expedition was sent out by the Spanish commandant at St. Louis. Second [that] the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, [that] the commanding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, [that] some Englishmen and property were captured. Lastly, [that] the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain." (33)

The testimony upon which Professor Alvord relies to support his contentions consists of the allusion in McCarty's letter to Slaughter, and "a story which was told in Cahokia," and recorded in *The pioneer history of Illinois*, by John Reynolds, Belleville, Ill., 1852. With these "two bits of information," we are told, "a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account." (34)

The second item is the keystone of Professor Alvord's critical structure, for without the Malliet story it would be difficult to find reason, in the thirty words of McCarty, for rejecting an authentic official document. Concerning this item, Professor Alvord says, quite correctly, "The story . . . is all wrong even to the date, but," he continues, "there are certain significant facts about it. The Spanish co-operation is not mentioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, undertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made

32. *Missouri Historical Review* II, 210. The opinions of the author are also expressed in the *Illinois State Historical Library, Collections* II, xcii-xciii; and 231,n.2.

33. *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, 197-198.

34. *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, 207.

"a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Baptiste Mailhet of Peoria." (35)

The tale is too long and outre to quote, but it does not contain a word to justify the assertion that "the expedition was entirely Cahokian." What Reynolds tells is that Malliet set out from Peoria with "about three hundred warriors, white, mixed and red," to avenge the defeat of Thomas Brady, and that "the wounded men of Brady's party were safely returned to Cahokia" (36)—to which place they belonged. Furthermore, Professor Alvord does not acknowledge that the connection of this story with the Spanish expedition is an inference of his own; he ignores the fact that Reynolds gives the official version when he mentions the Spanish expedition on an immediately succeeding page; and he omits the essential information that Malliet (Maye) was in the Spanish service. (37) The "story told in Cahokia" may be dismissed without further consideration.

In regard to his first "bit of information" Professor Alvord says that McCarty, "in writing the news of Cahokia, 'where he was,' provides 'the best account, because unbiased and given in an incidental way.'" (38) It is not by any means certain, however, that McCarty was in Cahokia on January 27, for he was in Kaskaskia, January 17-21, (39) and no mention is made of his return. Neither can it be asserted confidently that any statement of his in regard to the Cahokians was unbiased—they had threatened to drive him out of their town, and he left it under arrest.

There is no inherent improbability, however, in the statement that twenty Cahokians joined the force from St. Louis.

35. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 207. Elsewhere Professor Alvord says: "More errors in the histories of the state may be traced back to his [Reynolds] statements than to any other one source." Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xvii n.2.

36. Reynolds, *Pioneer history of Illinois*, 2d ed. Chicago, 1887. pp. 122-123.

37. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781. Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422; Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 201. Cited by Alvord, Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 203 n. 25, as "Galvez to Cruzat."

38. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xciii, n.2.

39. Illinois State Hist. Library, Collections, V, 216-217.

40. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, V, 123.

The interests of the inhabitants on the two sides of the river were, in this matter, identical; they would be equally endangered by a British attack, as they had been in the previous spring. On the other hand, it does not seem probable that 250 men, to take McCarty's figures, would have set out to travel eight or nine hundred miles in the depth of winter to revenge themselves for the death of four unnamed individuals. It is not probable that after such exertion they would have been content with the "capture" of eight Canadians, who were subsequently handed over to the commandant of St. Louis. It is entirely improbable, if Professor Alvord is correct, that they would have divided the plunder among the Indians.

So far as Cruzat was concerned the situation was far too grave to admit of sending away, for any but the most urgent reasons, an appreciable part of the military force at his command for the defense, not merely of St. Louis, but of the entire Mississippi Valley. He was confronted, in that winter of 1780, not only with the certainty of an English attack, but with fear of the Illionis settlers making their peace with the English, and even of Clark joining with the latter in an attack on the Spanish dominions.

On September 22, 1780, Cruzat wrote to Galvez: "there is "a rumor, althought it is not confirmed, (41) that said inhabitants are or were projecting sending a courier to the Strait "[Detroit], declaring themselves to be English vassals and "begging protection from the Sovereign of the English." (42)

On December 22, 1780, he wrote that there was news of peace between the American colonies and England, and continued: "It is morally certain that, if the Americans should "separate from our alliance they will work against us and "that then, united with the English of Canada, they can form "an expedition in these districts for the conquest of Pinueses "and all the rest of the colony." (43)

It will not be necessary to examine Professor Alvord's

41. But it was justified, see Bentley to Haldimand, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collection, XIX, 561-562.

42. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 180.

43. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 178.

argument in greater detail, or to make further comment on his historical method. (44)

The only admissible explanation of the expedition is the one given by Cruzat and embodied in the account printed in Madrid in 1782.

Philip Mazzei wrote to Jefferson, February 8, 1780: "I 'have often admired the scrupulous regard paid to truth in the 'Gazette of both Nations [France and Spain], as well at the decency of their expressions.'" (45) That this opinion is not completely shared by American historical students is evident from Professor Alvord's paper. As, however, the history of Spanish activities within the present boundaries of the United States is receiving an ever increasing amount of attention, it is of importance to know whether the documents available for such study are found, in given instances, to be unreliable when tested critically by other evidence. The present examination shows that while the paragraph from the *Gazeta de Madrid*, of March 12, 1782, has been subjected to various forms of criticism, a close investigation leaves its credibility unimpaired.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

44. Protest must, however, be entered against his misstatement of fact in disparagement of E. G. Mason's paper, *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, 197.

45. Calendar of Virginia state papers, I, 337.

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, BOONVILLE, COOPER COUNTY, MISSOURI.

MISSOURI AND THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From time to time as the years roll by, it becomes expedient to review the past and from our knowledge and research recite to those around us such information as we have been able to collect, and to that end your historian will strive to remind those of riper years, and instruct the more youthful, in things pertaining to Missouri and The Church. In dealing with this subject justice to other co-workers in the Church-Militant suggests that we briefly refer to them and their credit for work done in furthering the cause of religion, thus serving the two-fold purpose of showing what they did, and also that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always in the van-guard in the march of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

We will aim chiefly to take this Church's growth along with the growth of the State, and thus down to a brief history of Christ Church, Boonville. Missouri became United States property in 1803, when Napoleon sold it to the United States, and in March 1804 the American flag was raised in St. Louis. Prior to this time, the country being under the flags of Spain and France, the Roman Catholics controlled ecclesiastically, and no Protestant Church was allowed. Soon after this purchase, however, a great many Protestants came into the country, but were too scattered to organize, and from about 1804 preachers of different denominations went from place to place and held services, generally in private houses.

We find that in 1806 the Baptists organized Bethel Church, at Cape Girardeau and in 1816 the Presbyterians organized a church in St. Louis. However, the Methodists held services as early as 1807 and the Presbyterians as early as 1813.

In 1819 Rev. John Ward, of Lexington, Kentucky, visited St. Louis and held the first services of the Episcopal Church in a public hall on October 24th. A week later forty-seven persons signed a subscription list pledging themselves to the support of a minister, the list amounting to \$1,714. That was headed by Thomas F. Riddick for \$100. Shortly after this nucleus was pledged, the Parish, now embraced by Christ Church Pro-Cathedral, St. Louis, was organized. It was the third Protestant Church in the State, showing, as we said before, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always forward in the advanced fighting line of the Church-Militant, battling for the right and privilege of spreading the glad tidings of the gospel. In 1829 the first church edifice of the Protestant Episcopal Church was built and in 1840 a second Parish was organized at Boonville.

This brings us to the Diocese of Missouri, with which we will deal very briefly, still showing the growth of the Church in Missouri and the connecting link with the Diocese of West Missouri, of which this Parish was a part until the name was changed to the Diocese of Kansas City. The first Bishop having jurisdiction over this Diocese was the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana. Bishop Kemper thus served the Diocese from 1835 to 1844. After him Kemper College, near St. Louis, the first Episcopal school in the state, was named.

Bishop Kemper was succeeded by Bishop Cicero Stephens Hawks, who was really the first Bishop of Missouri. He was the rector of Christ Church, St. Louis, being also elected to the Bishopric of Missouri. On account, however, of the poverty of the new diocese, he continued his duties as rector of Christ Church, also serving the Diocese as Bishop until his death on April 19th, 1868. Bishop Hawks married Miss Ada Leonard, of Fayette, in the adjoining county of Howard and is thus of local interest. He was succeeded by Bishop Charles F. Robinson, who served the Diocese from 1868 to 1886 in a most acceptable manner. Bishop Robinson was succeeded by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, still the loved and revered Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri.

In 1891, the charge becoming too large and arduous for one man, the new Diocese of West Missouri was organized, the name being afterwards changed to the Diocese of Kansas City, over which our late beloved Bishop E. R. Atwill, was elected to preside, and through the blessing of God labored for over twenty years for our up-building and growth, both physically and spiritually. The Diocese, however, was not long without a spiritual head, for on March 8th, 1911, a Diocesan Convention was held at Kansas City by which Right Reverend Sidney Catlin Partridge, Missionary Bishop of Japan, was unanimously elected as Bishop of the "Diocese of Kansas City." The See City of this Diocese is Kansas City and we will briefly treat of the Church there:

In 1857 Bishop Hawks visited Kansas City and addressed a large congregation. The only Church there was a Missionary Church, or one assisted by the Missionary Board, until 1868. The first clergyman sent to Kansas City was Rev. Joseph I. Corbyn, in November, 1857, who was a brother of our Mr. Almon D. Corbyn, and who preached in this city only a few years ago. In December of that year he organized St. Luke's Church, so named at the special request of Bishop Hawks, and from which the present St. Mary's springs, the name having been changed to St. Mary's.

Easter services of 1858 were held in the court house and there were then only five communicants in the parish. From this small number of communicants as a nucleus we should feel at least encouraged when for 1908 we are able to report in our See City the following Parishes and Missions, mostly strong and influential, battling against the world, the flesh and the devil and spreading the gospel of Christ: St. Mary's, St. Paul's, Trinity, St. Marks, St. Georges, Grace and St. Augustine's and St. John's Missions and Holy Spirit and Grace Unorganized Missions.

Time limit will now compel us to abbreviate as much as possible, a local history of this our own ecclesiastical home, the

Diocese of Kansas City, Missouri, and Christ Church, Boonville.

When we remember that in 1840 Christ Church, Boonville, was the only organized Parish in the present Diocese of Kansas City, Lexington having been organized in 1845 and Fayette in 1847, we should review with interest the following brief recital of the present strength of the Diocese. It had in 1908, sixty-seven parishes and organized and unorganized missions, fifty-three priests, deacons and lay-readers, over five thousand communicants, and church edifices of a value of about \$500,000. It had also in 1900, forty Sunday Schools, with two hundred and ninety-eight teachers and two thousand, two hundred and eighty-one pupils. Her contributions for that year amounted to nearly \$60,000. (We use 1900 because we have not the other data at hand.)

In Boonville, as in the State, it will be seen that the Episcopal Church is again well abreast of the front rank with the Soldiers of the Cross. The Baptists organized a Church at Concord in this county in May, 1817, but did not organize in Boonville until 1843; the Methodists were here as the Lamine Circuit in 1817 and 1818, but Boonville Circuit was organized as late as 1834; the Presbyterians were at Old Franklin in 1821, but moved to Boonville in 1830, bought their church lot in 1833 and completed their church building in 1841, while this Church, the Episcopal, was here in 1835 and organized in 1840.

The records of the Boonville Parish were in some way lost or destroyed during the "War Between the States," and consequently the official history of the Church is not to be found among its archives from 1837 to 1863, the period covered by the lost records. In 1890 your historian was requested by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle to prepare a brief history of this Parish for use at the Jubilee Convention held at Christ Church, St. Louis May 22nd, 1890. We will therefore formulate briefly as connected a history of the Church here as we can, from the links of dates and events gathered from those among

the older members of the Parish then residing here, and from whoever else were able to give us any data, from which to trace the thread of a history of its lineage, or on which to base a connected recital.

This Parish is probably older than the Diocese of Missouri and is certainly only next to Christ Church, St. Louis, in age. The first evidence we have been able to find of the Church at Boonville is when it was a Mission in 1837, though even prior to that, in 1835, occasional services were held. These services were likely held by Rev. F. F. Peak, who in all probability was the pioneer preacher of this Church, and we know he preached and taught here in 1836. Doubtless the nucleus of the church was here for several years before and had its beginning in the work of the following families, whose descendants are still among the Church people of this and other Parishes throughout the State: the Buckners, Perrys, Gillespies, Massies, Megquires, Powells, Mortons, Gardiners, Stocktons, Redmons, Thompsons, Merrills and others, who were active in church work in those early days. Among the constituent members of the first organization were Dr. E. E. Buckner and wife, Richard Thompson and wife, Mrs. Tompkins and C. B. Powell and wife.

Mr. Peak was the first Episcopal minister who ever landed at Boonville, besides probably having preached here in 1835, came here as a Missionary in 1837. He preached while here in what was then the Jefferson House, on the corner of Sixth and High streets, diagonally northwest from the court house. Just how long Mr. Peak remained here is not known, but he was compelled to leave here on account of the ill-health of his wife. His work here probably covered about four years. Rev. F. F. Peak was succeeded by Rev. James D. Mead, who likewise held services in the Jefferson House. Mr. Mead staid here about two years and was also obliged to leave on account of ill-health. He was succeeded in the spring of 1844 by Rev. Almond D. Corbyn, to whom this congregation is doubtless indebted for the present church building, much of which was built with his own hands. When Mr. Corbyn first came to

Boonville he held services in what is today Weland's Carriage Factory. After that he conducted services in a long frame building on the southeast corner of Spring and Main streets, the corner on which the Farmers' Bank now stands. In 1844 Mr. Corbyn was kindly loaned a pipe organ by some one at Jefferson City. In December of that year he got the late Mr. C. F. Aehle to go down and conduct its removal to Boonville, and on Christmas morning of 1844 the first pipe organ ever played in Boonville was heard in "the long frame building" used as a church. Mr. C. F. Aehle then became organist, which position he filled for about twenty-five years. The services are said to have been so well attended that as many heard from the outside as worshipped on the inside. About a year prior to this, Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana, landed at Boonville, being the first Episcopal Bishop who had ever visited the Church.

Soon after Mr. Corbyn took charge an effort was made to build a church, some money having been collected in the Eastern cities by Mr. C. B. Powell, probably over two thousand dollars, but who unfortunately lost it on his way home. The faithful few, however, renewed their efforts and collected sufficient means to make a start. The corner stone of a church was first laid on a lot diagonally across Fourth street from the present building—on the lot now owned by Judge John H. Zollinger, but a flaw having been discovered in the title it was removed to where the church building now stands. The church was finally completed, however, by the untiring efforts of Mr. Corbyn, who toiled and labored on it with his own hands and means until, after many difficulties and discouragements, his zeal and energy were rewarded by success. This church building was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, by Bishop Hawks, in 1845, as near as we have been able to ascertain. The Church flourished under the rectorship of Mr. Corbyn. He succeeded in replacing the borrowed Jefferson City organ, which he returned, with a very good one-bank pipe organ, making also many other improvements in the Church, which afterwards, as a token of love for him and ap-

preciation of his labors, placed to his memory the black marble tablet, still in the wall of this Church. The present rectory was also built by Mr. Corbyn in 1850.

In the meantime Mr. Corbyn married Miss Virginia Teackle Buckner, who, with her children and grandchildren, continued to worship in the temple, the erection of which is so freely accredited to his zeal and energy. Mr. Corbyn remained pastor of the Church until 1852, when he resigned.

Rev. D. Gordon Estes succeeded Mr. Corbyn, but only remained here one year, and in turn was succeeded by Rev. R. E. Terry, in 1853. To Mr. Terry the Church is in a measure indebted for the new organ, which furnished the music of the Church for so many years, and until recently replaced by a much costlier instrument. Mr. Terry also conceived the idea of purchasing and conducting the Adelphi College, which, however, proved a failure, the liabilities falling on a few of the parishioners who came forward and paid them.

Rev. George P. Giddings, who served the Parish for several years, succeeded Mr. Terry. After Mr. Giddings left, the Parish was under the charge of Rev. S. S. Southard, a son of Hon. S. S. Southard, Secretary of the Navy under President John Quincy Adams, who remained but a short time. Mr. Southard was succeeded in 1861 by Rev. Thomas Smith, who likewise remained but a brief period. For the next two years, on account of the unsettled conditions of things, the Parish was virtually vacant, only such services being held as were given by any itinerant or missionary clergyman visiting Boonville. On June 1st, 1863, Rev. F. R. Holman became rector of the Parish, but refusing to "take the oath," he was banished to Canada during the war and in December of that year resigned the rectorship.

Rev. S. G. Callahan then happened to visit Boonville, and being introduced to the Vestry took temporary charge of the Parish. He only preached a few times, when he went to the country, near Bunceton, where he died after being there about eighteen months. Really the Parish never was officially under his charge, so it was vacant at that time and until Feb-

ruary, 1867, when Rev. F. R. Holman again became its rector, and remained about three years, resigning in January, 1870. During his rectorship the Parish increased from thirty-one to ninety-eight, besides confirmed non-communicants amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four members.

Mr. Holmes was succeeded by Rev. George H. Ward, who remained in charge of the Parish until the end of 1874, during whose charge your historian, a Churchman, came to Boonville, making the remainder of this recital personal reminiscences. Rev. Abiel Leonard, afterwards Bishop of Nevada and Utah, then took temporary charge of the Parish until July, 1875, when Rev. George Moore was called, who served the Parish until succeeded by Rev. J. M. Curtis in January, 1876. Rev. Dr. Curtis remained in charge of the Parish until February 20th, 1881. During his stay here he also gave to All Saints Church, Nevada, and Calvary, Sedalia, such services as his local duties would permit of, a memorandum of which work he left in his records here. After Mr. Curtis resigned Rev. Custis P. Jones accepted the charge for six months, his term expiring in July 1882.

Shortly after this the Vestry invited Mr. J. J. Wilkins to read the services, and under license from Bishop Robinson he did so until June, 1884, when he was made a Deacon in this Church. He was then officially called by the Vestry on August 5th, 1884, and remained in charge of this, his first Parish, until January, 1886, when he accepted a call to Sedalia. On May 16th, 1886, a call was extended to Rev. Henry Truro Bray, who took charge in June following, and resigned September 1st, 1888. On October 15th, 1888, Rev. J. M. C. Fulton visited the Parish and on November 12th took charge as rector, which charge he resigned November 1st, 1889. During his time here he also served the Missions at Tipton and Versailles.

For the next six months or more the Church was kept open by lay services by your historian, all credit for his doing so being justly due to the zeal of the late Mr. Fulton. On July 1st, 1890, Rev. Henry Mackey became its rector, and re-

mained such until forced by ill health to give up the active work of the ministry, he resigned this, his last charge, July 1st, 1900, having served the Parish most acceptably for just ten years. After Mr. Mackay's resignation we were again served most acceptably by a layman—Mr. E. A. Sherrod, a student for the orders of the Episcopal ministry, and who afterwards took orders and became rector of the Parish, which he served until 1902.

Mr. Sherrod was succeeded by Rev. Henry L. A. Fick, who came to us from New York and gave the Church good service until 1904, when he, in turn, after another vacancy, was succeeded by Rev. C. R. Stearns, who had charge of the Parish until 1908, when he resigned. In December, 1908, Rev. Silas Cook Walton, an English clergyman of a vast experience and possessed of a most resourceful ability and adaptability in the cause of his Master, took charge, giving the Parish the most untiring service until his death on May 25th, 1910. Since this time the Parish has again been vacant but not without service, as the Church is regularly opened for morning services by one of its three lay-readers, M. E. Schmidt, George T. Irvine or S. W. Ravenel.

It is but justice to these laymen to say that since 1888 the doors of the Church have never been allowed to be closed for want of the services of a rector, as one or the other of these lay readers have been on hand to perform that service, or read the Burial of the Dead at any time that the Parish was without a rector in charge or during the absence of the rector.

S. W. RAVENEL, Senior Warden.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY, MISSOURI.

A large portion of Central North Missouri has been styled "The Grand River Valley"—a region of great fertility of soil, diversified by numerous water courses, large bodies of timber and prairie, and when its other natural advantages are taken into account, it may well be classed as the equal of any other section of Missouri.

I do not know that the exact limits of what is called "The Grand River Valley" have ever been defined. It may, however, be safely assumed, that the region in question includes all the territory watered by Grand River and its tributary streams, thus embracing the counties of Chariton, Carroll, Linn, Livingston, Caldwell, Daviess, Grundy, Harrison, Mercer and Sullivan, a splendid domain, a magnificent group of counties.

Livingston county occupying a central position among the counties named, was organized pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, in February, 1837. Few persons now, I apprehend, are aware of the close relationship existing between Livingston and Howard counties. In fact, and to use a metaphor, Livingston may well be called the daughter of Howard—"the mother of counties." In an address some years ago, at Huntsville, Missouri, at the annual reunion of the Pioneer Settlers of Randolph and Macon counties, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, the veteran journalist and author of the History of Missouri, made the following statement:

"Take a position on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kaw, now Kansas City, proceed due north to the southern boundary line of Iowa, in truth, several miles beyond that line, into the territory of Iowa, then due east to the high ridge of ground, known as the headwaters of Cedar creek, now forming the boundary line between Boone and Callaway and descend the Cedar to its confluence with the Missouri river, at Jefferson

City, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage river, thence up that crooked stream to a point near Schell City, in Vernon county, then due west to the Kansas line, thence north along that line to the place of beginning; this was Howard county, now comprising 36 counties of the state—22 and a part of 3 others south of the Missouri river and 14 and part of five others north of it—an area of 22,000 square miles—larger than ancient Greece, larger than Saxony and Switzerland combined; larger than Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware and Rhode Island united.”

The peculiar topography of Livingston county must have made it a very attractive region for the Indian of the early days. Here was found the ideal of the Indian's hunting ground; with Grand river, having branches heading in the state of Iowa, flowing down in a southern and southeasterly direction, uniting and forming the main river at a point three miles west of Chillicothe, thence flowing on to the southeast corner of the county emptying into the Missouri river, about a mile west of Brunswick, and augmented throughout its course by numerous tributaries, some almost rivers of themselves, and skirted with heavy bodies of timber, covering the bottoms on either side, extending in many instances to the foot of the high prairies and there terminating in dense thickets of brushy growth. Under such favoring conditions, it is easy to conceive that here was a favorite resort for deer, elk and fur bearing animals of the various kinds. Nor should it excite any wonder that it was here the Indian delighted to rove, pitch his tent, establish villages and prosecute his daily hunt for game; such was actually the case, for it is a historical fact, that as late as the year 1828 and for many years prior to that date, a French trading post was maintained, in the south part of Livingston county, on the bluff opposite the mouth of Locust creek and established to trade with the Indians. The Indians furnished their pelts and peltries and other fruits of the chase, and in exchange received from the trader their coveted supplies of tobacco, whiskey, guns, ammunition, blankets, flour, sugar and coffee. About the year 1828, this

post was abandoned, owing to the fact, either that the Indians' source of revenue was fast becoming exhausted, or that preparations were then under way looking to their removal further west, to give way to the advancing tide of civilization. Some years after the post was abandoned and on the same site, the first village in Livingston county was located and went by the name of "Coon Town," afterwards called Granville, where more or less business was done until about the year 1855, the town was abandoned, and its buildings torn down and removed.

Today, a brush thicket occupies the site of the former bustling village, and as the name of "Coon Town" was first adopted by its inhabitants, it may be inferred that at that date, while the larger game had measuredly disappeared in that section, the coon still remained and flourished in the heavily timbered bottoms of Grand river and its tributaries, and thus furnished the basis of a large trade in "coon skins," a commodity then as now, in demand for the manufacture of hats and other uses, and it may be further inferred, that on the wane of the coon the business in that direction languished and finally ceased altogether. In this connection, it may be observed that in the History of Caldwell and Livingston counties published in 1885, it is claimed that Daniel Boone, the illustrious pioneer of Kentucky, after his removal to St. Charles county in this state, and about the year 1800, spent a winter on Grand river, erected his hut or cabin and set his traps for beaver and otter, but, on wandering some miles from his camp he discovered unmistakable signs of the presence of Indians in that locality and a deep snow having fallen, he feared the Indians might discover his place of retreat, and hence remained in his cabin twenty days when a thaw came, releasing his canoe from the ice and thus enabling him to retire in safety down the river on his return to his home in St. Charles county. But the correctness of this statement has been disputed. Some years ago, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, in a letter to the writer hereof, and in reply to an inquiry as to Daniel Boone's alleged presence on Grand river at the time mentioned, uses this

language: "No difference what anybody says, old Daniel Boone never made an excursion up Grand river in 1800 or any other time and never was on the territory now occupied by Boone, Howard or Livingston counties." This statement was corroborated some years ago, by the Hon. Phil E. Chappell, now deceased, once State Treasurer of Missouri and remarkably well informed as to the early history of Missouri.

L. T. COLLIER.

Kansas City, Mo., May 23, 1911.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Fourth Paper.

The following inscriptions are from monuments in the
Evangelical cemetery at Jefferson City:

- Maragret B. Asel born Nov. 27, 1829, died April 9, 1891.
John M. Asel born Feb. 27, 1825, died April 2, 1873.
Barbara Bassman geb. Ott Dec. 4, 1820, gest. March 12, 1907.
George Bassman geb. Sept. 27, 1822, gest. July 8, 1893.
Agetha Blank born Dec. 20, 1820, died April 9, 1897.
Sophia Eva Deeg geb. July 19, 1822, gest. Sept. 16, 1895.
Ida Hartwig geb. Jens gest. Aug. 3, 1902, alter 70 yr, 10 m, 2 d.
Susanna Hehenberger geb. July 4, 1817, gest. March 25, 1880.
Philipp Hess geb. Aug. 17, 1820, gest. March 21, 1895.
Kath. Hess geb. Dec. 21, 1825, gest. June 16, 1894.
Friedricke Hundhausen mother of W. H. Morlock, 1812-1894.
Sophia Jens geb. Fras Sept. 20, 1824, gest. Nov. 25, 1888.
J. Fried, Jens geb. Oct. 2, 1823, gest. June 21, 1896.
Elizabeth Kieselbach geb. Feb. 2, 1811, gest. March 5, 1889.
Johann M. Korn geb. April 1, 1795, gest. April 13, 1879.
August Kramp geb. Aug. 18, 1818, gest. J— 7, 1886.
Auguste Krueger geb. Nov. 26, 1828, gest. Jan. 15, 1907.
Fritz Krueger geb. Nov. 9, 1827, gest. March 16, 1895.
Maria Meier geb. Jens Oct. 7, 182—, gest. Sept. 5 1881.
Heinrich Reinke geb. Dec. 26, 1840, Feb. 19, 1901.
Mette G. Reinke geb. Madsen Sept. 5, 1841, gest. July 14, 1894.
Henrietta Rieger geb. Wilkens zu Bremen Sept. 13, 1817 gest.
zu Washington, Mo. May 5, 1885.
Joseph Rieger Pastor Deutsch. Ev. Gemeinde zu Jeff. City, geb.
zu Aurach in Baden April 23, 1811, gest. Aug 20, 1869.

- Anna Kath. Rosner geb. Dec. 27, 1809, gest. July 1, 1882.
George Russler geb. Nov. 17, 1823, gest. Feb. 25, 1887.
Anna H. Sahr geb. Feb. 1, 1823, gest. Feb. 16, 1904.
Johann Sahr geb. Jan. 13, 1824, gest. Oct. 16, 1897.
John G. Schmidt geb. Sept. 25, 1824, gest. Aug. 14, 1908.
Maria Schmidt geb. July 28, 1830, gest. April 29, 1900.
Johann Schneider geb. March 31, 1821, gest. March 3, 1891.
Margaretha Schneider geb. April 18, 1817, gest. March 13, 1887.
Lorenz Seifert geb. May 26, 1833, gest. Jan. 4, 1903.
Wilhelmine Seifert geb. March 28, 1835, gest. March 5, 1901.
Theresia Stroebel geb. Hehenberger, Nov. 6, 1841, gest. Oct. 24, 1877.
Matth. Stroebel geb. Jan. 2, 1811, gest. Sept. 4, 1868.
Anna K. Wagner geb. Wolfrum zu Mussen Bayern April 23, 1823, gest. April 3, 1903.
George Wagner geb. zu Schwarzach, Bayern, Feb. 13, 1821, gest. Sept. 24, 1895.
Johann N. Zahn geb. Nov. 22, 1809, gest. June 3, 1883.

The following are from the Lutheran cemetery at Jefferson City:

- Fredrich W. Albersmeier geb. June 21, 1836, gest. Nov. 21, 1867.
Pauline F. wife of C. Arnhold born Jan. 28, 1823, Died Dec. 15, 1852.
Conrad Beck geb. April 30, 1823, gest. June 9, 1892.
Clamor A. Brauer geb. Dec. 20, 1824, gest. Aug. 12, 1867.
Clara Brauer born Aug. 5, 1824, died March 19, 1906.
Katharine Fuchs geb. Heroth Nov. 11, 1800, gest. Jan. 30, 1884.
Ludwig Graessle geb. April 1, 1829, gest. Sept. 8, 1873.
Thomas von Gruen geb. June 25, 1814, gest. April 5, 1894, und seine gattin
Barbara geb. Singer June 25, 1804, gest. Feb. 27, 1894.
Johann W. Hager geb. Feb. 8, 1829, in Ahornborg, Bayern, gest. Feb. 3, 1899.

Barbara M. Hager geb. April 2, 1830, in Walmersreith, Bayern
gest. June 10, 1900.

Kunigunda Hensel born April 7, 1819, died April 5, 1901.

Johan Hoffman geb. March 6, 1822, gest. Nov. 4, 1907.

Margaretha Hoffman geb. Aug. 16, 1831.

Herrmann Holz geb. 1810, gest. April 8, 1835.

Johanna M. Krueger geb. April 9, 1821, gest. May 7, 1901.

Johann C. Max geb. Aug. 15, 1829, gest. Feb. 1, 1901.

Eva K. Max geb. Nov. 1, 1821, gest Jan. 25, 1908.

Karl G. Michael geb. Oct. 16, 1827, gest. Dec. 21, 1906.

Margaritha Meier geb. April 9, 1790, gest. June 28, 1881.

J. Ernstine Michael geb. Dec. 6, 1832, Vermachlt Feb. 20, 1856,
gest. Dec. 29, 1893.

Geo. L. Ott geb. June 11, 1813, gest. Dec. 11, 1886.

Elizabeth Ott geb. Aug. 1, 1816, gest. Jan 15, 1890.

Ambrosius Rauh geb. zu Markesreith Baiern Feb. 16, 1820, gest.
June 21, 1903.

Margaretha Rauh geb. Kiessling aus Weissdorf Aug. 4, 1826,
gest. Sept. 13, 1897.

Philip J. Routszonz born May 6, 1803, died Nov. 12, 1854.

Christian Routzon born March 10, 1771, died Nov. 25, 1852.

Mary B. wife of Christian Routzon born Aug. 25, 1774, died
April 7, 1855.

Johann Schmidt geb. April 29, 1821, gest. Jan. 29, 1887.

Kunigunda Schmidt geb. Jan. 13, 1820, gest. April 30, 1889.

Christopher Schneider geb. Sept. 1807, gest. June 7, 1864.

Valentin Werkman geb. March 30, 1804, gest. Aug. 31, 1864.

Anna M. Woehrmann geb. Feb. 2, 1809, gest. Feb. 7, 1892.

Gerhard Woehrmann geb. June 2, 1810, gest. Sept. 24. 1875.

Elizabeth wife of John Yost died 1865 aged 54 years.

John Yost died 1876 aged 62 years.

Christopher Yost died 1869 aged 27 years. Serg. Co. H. 100th
Pa. Vet. Vols.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Advance Advocate. Published by the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees. Vol. xix, St. Louis, 1910.

This volume uniformly bound with seven others lately presented to the Society by the publishers contains much of interest to the members of the organization whose organ it is; and also much of interest to the general reader. The Society is pleased to have so many of the volumes of this periodical, and hopes for many similar donations.

Ancient Curious and Famous Wills by **Virgil M. Harris**, member of the St. Louis bar, Lecturer on Wills in the St. Louis University Institute of Law, trust officer of the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis. Boston, 1911.

This is a work of interest to the legal profession, to Trust Company officials and to lovers of literature.

The book is divided into seven chapters:

- I. Practical Suggestions for Will-Writing.
- II. Ancient Wills.
- III. Wills in Fiction and Poetry.
- IV. Curious Wills, under Five Headings.
- V. Testamentary and Kindred Miscellany.
- VI. Wills of Famous Foreigners.
- VII. Wills of Famous Americans.

The book gives about five hundred wills obtained from various parts of the world from the earliest times to that of Mary Baker Eddy.

Such a work has never before been attempted in America, though in England and in France there are similar productions of high merit. The book is a distinct addition to legal literature, as well as a medium of precedent and aid to Trust

Companies and all who have to do with wills, legacies, and the settlement of estates, and Mr. Harris is to be commended for his exhaustive research and labor.

Domestic Science, a Text in Cooking and Syllabus in Sewing, by Gertrude T. Johnson. Second edition. Kansas City, 1911.

This work was prepared for use in the Kansas City elementary schools by one of the teachers of Kansas City, and contains the fundamental theories of foods and their functions, together with more than two hundred receipts. The book is an excellent one for family use, as well as for class work in the schools.

Missouri Historical Society Collections. Vol. III, No. 3, 1911.

This number of the publication issued by the historical society in St. Louis has 130 pages of great interest to the Missouri historical students. The society will be fortunate in having a home in the building to be erected in Forest Park by the World's Fair directors.

Sonnets and Songs by John Rothensteiner. St. Louis, B. Herder, 1911.

This book of 27 pages of verse, by one of the trustees of this society, and pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, is a welcome addition to eight other publications of the same author in the library of the society.

Unusual Quotation and Gems of Verse. Compiled by Mrs. Adele Spalding. St. Louis, n. d.

This is a handsomely printed book of well chosen selections on various subjects, and its possessor will often find it will furnish him the quotation that he may be wanting. The compiler lives at Brookfield, and her book is on sale at the Missouri Store.

Gems of Thought Gathered Along Life's Pathway. By **Alonzo Thompson.** Chicago. Privately printed. 1910.

We have received the above finely printed and bound book of poems by a former Missourian, and more than eighty-two years old, but still loving to make rhymes and indulge in poetic work. The two hundred pages of the book have tributes to arisen friends, thoughts along life's pathway and miscellaneous poems. The author now lives at Bismarck, North Dakota.

History of Salem Association of Primitive Baptists of Missouri from the organization in 1827 including the session of 1910. By **Elder Ira Turner.** St. Joseph. 1911.

The different branches of the Baptist church have been called "Baptist," "Old Baptists," "Particular Baptists," "Regular Baptists," "Primitive Baptists," "Missionary Baptists," "General Baptists," "Free Will Baptists," the above association belonging to the branch generally known as "Regular Baptists." In the early days in this state when the Mission question divided many churches and associations, the Mt. Pleasant Association was organized in 1818, and afterwards divided into the two associations belonging to "Baptist," and the "Regular Baptists," the present yearly meeting being numbered the ninety-fourth by each association. The Salem Association was organized from the Mt. Pleasant Association in the year 1827, Elder Turner traces the history of it each year from that time to the present, and incidentally tells of the points in which the Regular Baptist Church differs from the larger body, and claims that the entire body of Baptists originally held the same doctrines that are now held by this body which takes a prefix to designate this organization, and he evidently thinks that it should have been the present larger Baptist body, that should be known by the prefix name instead of its being to the one to which the above Association belongs.

General History of Macon County, Missouri. Chicago. Henry Taylor & Company. 1910.

The above short title page is somewhat in contrast to the

prevailing style in the county histories of years ago, which approached in their fullness a table of contents.

The foreword commences with a quotation from Macauley, that will bear repetition very frequently till it is firmly fixed in the minds of the citizen:—"A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered by remote descendants."

The history of the county seems to be presented in a well arranged plan, giving in 270 pages of the work the early pioneer times, and their contests with the Indians, the courts, the press, the schools, the churches and other matters making up the history of the county.

The remaining part of the 945 pages are the biographical part of the work. This part like the other is of much value, and will hereafter be in constant use by the biographer and genealogist, and by all who are interested in the men and women who made the early history of one of the large counties of the State.

Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Missouri, "1910 Red Book," Jefferson City, n. d.

The above is a volume of more than 700 pages, a great mass of information about the State. Part V of the book has also been issued as a separate under the title "Miscellaneous Information, Missouri, 1909-10."

In this is an account of Ha Ha Tonka, the former Gunter Spring, of Camden county, of which Bayard Taylor said, "I have traveled all over the world, to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery human eye ever beheld." Dr. Jenney, of the United States Geological Survey, spent some days there photographing, and said that while he had spent much of his life in the mountains, he had never before found a neighborhood that would furnish so many fine photographic views. The editor of the Review is pleased to have many of these views which he saw taken by Dr. Jenney.

General History of Shelby County, Missouri. Chicago.

Henry Taylor & Company. 1911. Henry Taylor, Jr. W. H. Bingham.

This is the second one of the new style county histories of Missouri, for which two we are indebted to Mr. Bingham of the publishing firm.

The 671 pages of the work include the general history and the biographical history of the county in a very satisfactory manner.

NOTES.

Ho. Alonzo Tubbs calls our attention to an error in Prof. Hodder's paper at page 141 of the April number of the Review in which he referred to the killing of a son of John B. C. Lucas in a duel, and gave his name as Benton Lucas, instead of Charles Lucas, his correct name.

In the Missouri Historical Review for January, 1908, there was an interesting paper on Rev. Jesse Walker, the Apostle of the Wilderness, by Rev. J. Spencer, of Slater, Missouri, in which it was shown that Rev. Walker was the first organizer of the Methodist church in St. Louis and also in Chicago, and that he was the first Presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in Illinois. The Rock River Conference of the Methodist Church is now about to erect a monument over his grave at Plainfield, Illinois, eight miles west of Joliet. It will be of Barre granite, will weigh seven tons, and have a suitable bronze tablet. The famous Rev. Peter Cartwright received his license to preach from Jesse Walker.

Among the publications made at the last session of the General Assembly are two publications of the report of a special committee in both of which the title of the commissioner is given different from that which the law gives him. However, in the body of the report the title is given correctly, and the mistake is in the title page of the report.

An organization of the patriotic societies and the Historical Society of Kansas City has been made to provide for properly marking, with a monument, the site of the Battle of Westport.

A letter received by the editor of the Review from one of our members, Homer Calkins, editor of "The Pacific Transcript," at Pacific, Missouri, has several matters of interest, and some of compliment to the Review. The paper on the Mormon troubles in Missouri gave him new, and he thinks correct information in regard to the history of those troubles that did not redound to the credit of the state. Mr. Calkins tells of a company raised in Franklin county for the Mormon "war," that has no record in the Adjutant General's office, nor in any of publications relating to Franklin county. His informant was David P. Wood, who was an old resident and remembered playing with the Indian boys in the early days.

The young men of the county organized a company of horsemen, to drill, and in order to improve the condition of the Company, they organized as a cavalry company. When the Mormon flurry came on this Company was ordered to the seat of trouble, and in Jefferson City was reviewed by Governor Boggs. They resumed their march, but on the morning of the second day a courier overtook the Company with an order from the governor recalling them as the troubles had been settled.

If there was such a Company, and Corporal Wood claimed to have been one of it, there should be an effort made to get definite information about it.

NECROLOGY.

GEN. ANDREW J. BAKER died at Centerville, Iowa, April 23, 1911, aged 79 years. He served as Attorney General both in Iowa and in Missouri, in the latter from 1870 to 1872.

DANIEL BARTLETT was born at Boonville, Missouri, in 1801, under Spanish rule. For a short time afterwards his native place was under French rule, and at the time of his death he was living under the third flag without having left the limits of the present state. Mr. Bartlett moved to Sedalia twenty-nine years ago, and died there March 21, 1911, probably the oldest man in the state.

JAMES R. CLAIBORNE died in St. Louis, April 22, 1911. He was born in Franklin county, Virginia, and served in the Confederate army as colonel of the 37th Virginia Regiment. At the close of the war he came to St. Louis, and was twice Prosecuting Attorney, was judge of the Court of Criminal Correction, and was Senator in the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth General Assemblies. At one time he was a candidate for the nomination of Governor on the Democratic ticket.

HON. EPHRAIM W. DAVIS, born in Tennessee, April 2, 1829, and a resident of Laclede county, Missouri, since 1839, died at his home ten miles south of Lebanon, April 30, 1911. In 1872 he was elected a judge of the County Court, and again in 1880; he was then elected a member of the House in the Missouri Legislature for the Thirty-first General Assembly.

DR. NOAH MILLER GLATTFELTER, of St. Louis, a well known Missouri author, died at his home in St. Louis, April 2d, of injuries received by a fall from a ladder, while re-

pairing a fence in his garden. He was a noted botanist in the specialties of willow trees and mushrooms, and has published papers on them. He also compiled the "Record of Casper Glattfelter and his descendants, St. Louis, 1901," this family to which he belonged having come to America in 1570. He was 73 years old, and the funeral was under the direction of Ransom Post, G. A. R.

REV. E. J. HUNT, District Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Carthage District, a member of this Society and a Missouri author, died in Carthage, Missouri, March 10, 1911, 58 years of age. He was pastor in Sedalia for two years, and for six years was presiding elder of the Sedalia District.

HON. JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT was born in Marion county, Kentucky, August 29, 1830. He studied law and in 1850 came to Memphis, Missouri, where he practiced law. In 1858 he was a member of the House in the Twentieth General Assembly. This he resigned in 1858 for an appointment as Attorney General, vice E. B. Ewing, resigned, and in 1860 he was elected for the next term. On declining to take the oath of allegiance he was removed from office by the ordinance of 1861. In April, 1862, he returned to Kentucky, where he afterwards lived. In 1867 and 1869 he was elected to the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, and in 1875 to the Forty-fourth Congress, and reelected to the three following. He became noted as a humorist and satirist. His speech in opposition to a grant to a railroad to Duluth, which place he termed the "arctic zenith of the unsalted seas," has become an English classic. From 1883 to 1887 he was Governor of Kentucky. He died at his home in Lebanon, Kentucky, June 18, 1911.

HON. JOSIAH E. MELLETTTE, of Springfield, Missouri, where he died March 25, 1910, was born in Henry county, Indiana, September 28, 1848, and graduated from the State Uni-

versity of Indiana in 1872. He was admitted to the bar in Muncie, Indiana, and elected prosecuting attorney of the county, and after two terms was elected to the state legislature of Indiana. In 1893 he came to Missouri, and in 1904 was elected mayor of Springfield. He stood high at the bar of Springfield, and frequently acted as special judge.

REV. C. F. PHILLIPS was born in Coshocton county, Ohio, December 25, 1844, and at the age of 17 he enlisted in the Fifty-first Ohio, and afterwards was for fourteen months in Andersonville prison. In 1866 he married and came to Missouri, and in 1876 was admitted to the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, and has been pastor in many of the towns of North Missouri. In 1905 he was elected Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of Missouri. He died in Princeton, Missouri, February 6, 1911, and the last General Assembly of Missouri adopted resolutions showing the appreciation in which he was held.

REV. JOSEPH RUSSELL, who was Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of 1903, died at Lutesville, Missouri, April 8, 1911, aged 73 years. He was a native of Tennessee.

I

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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 6.

OCTOBER, 1911.

NO. 1

SANTA FE TRAIL.

M. M. MARMADUKE JOURNAL.

Notes by F. A. Sampson.

In the Missouri Historical Review for January, 1910, was printed the journal of Captain Wm. Becknell of a trip from Franklin to Santa Fe made in 1821, by which he became the founder of the Santa Fe trade, and the father of the Santa Fe trail. This journal was copied from the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser of April 22, 1823. In the present number is given the journal of another expedition from Franklin to Santa Fe, made in 1824, by M. M. Marmaduke, of Saline county, Missouri, and printed in the Missouri Intelligencer of September 2, 1825. Marmaduke was elected Lieut. Governor of Missouri in 1840, with Gov. Reynolds, and upon the death of the latter he became Governor for the balance of the term ending in 1844. The journal is an interesting one, showing the condition of the trail at that early day.

JOURNAL.

"Crossed the Missouri river at Hardiman's ferry, (1) six miles above Franklin, on Sunday the 16th May, 1824, and encamped two miles from the ferry, in a beautiful prairie. (2)

23d—Encamped in the prairie at Camp General Rendezvous

1. The name Hardeman is correctly given in the "History of Howard and Cooper Counties, 1883," and in Switzler's History of Missouri." At a point five miles above Franklin and just above a point opposite the mouth of the Lamine river was a lovely and famous retreat—"Hardeman's Garden," a place similar to that of Shaw's Garden in St. Louis. John Hardeman, a native of North Carolina, born in 1776, who moved to Missouri in 1817 and two years later to Howard county, where he bought land, and laid out upon it ten acres for a garden, which became famous for its native and tropical flowers and plants, and which in its day was superior to any other west of the Alleghenies. In 1826 the river commenced cutting into and carrying away the garden, and in 1829 its owner, while on his way home from Mexico died of yellow fever in New Orleans. The part of the farm that was not carried away was sold by the family in 1865. Hon. G. O. Hardeman, who was a member of the Missouri legislature, in the 23th General Assembly in 1877, was a son of John Hardeman, and from his son, G. A. Hardeman, of Gray's Summit, Missouri, the State Historical Society received the manuscript collection of his father and grandfather, including letters of John Hardeman, and also letters of Henry Clay and other prominent persons to him.

It is generally stated that the Santa Fe trail crossed the river at Arrow Rock, and that is doubtless correct. Judge Napton, of Marshall, writes that there is a man now living in that town, 86 years old, who married a Miss McMahan whose mother was a daughter of Marshall Cooper, who was killed by an Indian in Cooper's Fort—McMahan and his wife settled on the Cooper county side of the river, above the mouth of the Lamine and opposite the Hardeman Garden and Ferry. Mrs. McMahan told this man about 1858 of the Santa Fe traders crossing the river at this place and coming by their house, and that she and her husband got on their horses and accompanied them to the camp of that night, and remained over night with them. He did not remember the exact date, nor whether it was the Marmaduke or some other party of traders. Judge Napton writes:

"There is no evidence that the crossing at Hardeman's was used by the Santa Fe traders any other year than 1824. The first band of traders who went out from Franklin in 1821 crossed at Arrow Rock, so says Capt. Becknell, who got up the party and commanded them on the march to Santa Fe. Then in the succeeding years up to 1826 or 28, he crossed there every year, and after that time Becknell took up his residence at Arrow Rock, established a ferry over the Missouri himself, the ferry boat being made of two large keel boats lashed together, with a platform on top, and a railing to keep stock on.

"Capt. Becknell represented Saline county in 1828 and 30—two terms. What became of him is unknown to the history of this section."

(3) about 3 miles from any settlement, on our way into the wilderness.

24th—Remained at camp making the necessary rules and regulations for the government of the company, and in the evening held an election for three officers, when A. Le-grand was chosen captain, Paul Anderson lieutenant, and ——— Simpson, ensign. We this evening ascertained the whole strength of our company to be 81 persons and two servants; we also had 2 road waggons, 20 dearborns, 2 carts (4) and one small piece of cannon. The amount of goods taken with us is supposed to be about \$30,000. We have with us about 200 horses and mules.

25th—Travelled 10 miles to Blue Springs, and passed over a prairie country uneven and rolling, but of fine rich soil. We this day travelled the Missionary road. (5)

2. The camp was probably in the immediate neighborhood of the Dr. Sappington settlement; Sappington settled there in 1819, and it can readily be conjectured that Marmaduke then first met the Miss Sappington who afterwards became his wife.

3. This camp where the expedition was assembled and organized was near the present east lines of Jackson county, and as the journal says ten miles east of Blue Springs. It is said that the next settlement to Fort Osage, a military post, in the limits of Jackson county, was at Blue Springs. A few years later, 1830, Independence became the place of rendezvous or organization of the Santa Fe expeditions.

4. A late article on the Santa Fe trail says that Captain Bonneville organized an expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1832, and that he was the first trader to employ wagons for transportation of goods, and that Sibley, or Fort Osage as it was originally called had the distinction of being the first point on the Missouri river to employ a wagon train.

In the Review of January, 1910, was given the journal of Capt. Wm. Becknell, of a journey from Franklin to Santa Fe, as printed in the Missouri Intelligencer of April 22, 1823, which journey was made in 1821, by which expedition Chittenden in "The American Trade of the Far West" says Becknell became the founder of the Santa Fe trade and the father of the Santa Fe trail. This was the first successful trading expedition to Santa Fe, and with him he took the first wagon that ever went over the trail. During the same year the Intelligencer says that Mr. Floyd in a speech in the U. S. House of Representatives stated that on the return of that expedition it had a wagon, but that this was a mistake as Becknell sold the wagon at Santa Fe. At that time Capt. Becknell stated that in his next trip in the fall of 1823, he would take three wagons, and Judge Napton in his History of Saline County says that he did so. Gov. McNair in his message of Nov. 4, 1822, to the Second General Assembly of Mis-

26th—Travelled about 22 miles. Saw several elk running across the prairie, and our hunters brought into camp several deer.

27th—Crossed several branches of the Big Blue, and in one instance had to dig the banks and let the waggons and dearborns down by ropes. The prairie remarkable rich, and the whole face of it covered with most beautiful flowers.

28th—Encamped on a branch of Kansas river

29th—Encamped on one branch of the Marias de Seine. (6)

June 3d—Travelled over a very rolling, hilly prairie, the grass short, and in many places covered with small pieces of rock, stone and limestone. Our hunters killed two antelopes and one elk.

4th—Travelled 14 miles, over a bad road of creeks and hills, and encamped on the Verdigrise river.

6th—Travelled over a road exceedingly bad and mountainous. Saw a great many prairie dogs, and shot at one. Heretofore with considerable difficulty we have been able to procure wood for cooking purposes; this evening we have been obliged to use buffalo dung.

souri, in mention of the Santa Fe trail said "caravans of horses and mules loaded with merchandise have passed from Missouri to Santa Fe, and it is a fact to the belief of which no credit would have been given until it was performed, that waggons have this summer made the same journey." Marmaduke had in all 25 wheeled conveyances.

5. The "Missionary road" must have referred to a road from Lexington to Harmony Mission, but it was not a road that was used with that as an objective point long enough for it to now be definitely traced. After a delegation of Osage Indians in Washington expressed a desire in 1820 to have missionaries sent to them, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions formed a party with a missionary, physician, workmen and their families, which left Pittsburg in the spring of 1821, going by the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri and Osage rivers, and after six months travel reached an Indian village where Papinsville now is, and the mission was located a mile from it. The first cabins were put up by Col. Henry Renick, who lived in Lafayette county, and was perhaps the first one to blaze a road from the Missouri to The Mission, and later the supplies taken by boats to Lexington or to Independence were wagoned to the Missouri.

The History of Cass and Bates Counties, 1883, gives the history of the Mission, and suggestions as to the road have been made by Prof. G. C. Broadhead and Judge W. B. Napton to the editor.

6. This was the Marias des Cygnes.

7th—Travelled 14 miles over a very hilly and broken road. This night had a tremendous gust of wind and rain, and the horses broke by the guard in defiance of every exertion to stop them.

8th—Travelled 14 miles, and encamped on one of the branches of the Little Arkansas; killed 3 buffaloe and 1 antelope. An alarm was this evening given by our hunters that several hundred Indians were approaching; a party went out to reconnoitre, and found them to be buffaloe.

9th—Encamped on the Little Arkansas river, near the sand hills; killed 9 buffaloes. Saw this day at least five thousand buffaloe, chiefly bulls.

10th—Passed the Sand Hills—saw this day at least ten thousand buffaloe, the prairies were literally covered with them for many miles. Killed 9 buffaloe today—we this evening arrived at the G. Arkansas river, and encamped on it; this river is at this place about 200 yards wide, but quite shallow, as our hunters forded it, and killed several buffaloe on the south side. At this place there is not the smallest appearance of any kind of tree or shrubbery of any kind; the whole country being entirely prairie. From Franklin, Missouri, to this place, I make the distance 355 miles, and the course generally about W. S. W.

11th—Travelled about 8 miles on the Arkansas, and encamped on the bank at noon, at which time a great number of buffaloe came running by the camp, and frightened the horses so that many of them broke off from the encampment at full speed, and joined in with the buffaloe in the race, and with great difficulty were checked. I beleive I must have seen this day at least **ten or fifteen thousand** buffaloe.

12th—In consequence of the horses which ran off yesterday, we remained at the same encampment, and unfortunately for many of us, at 1 o'clock in the morning a number of buffalo crossed the river at the encampment and passed through it, which frightened off about two-thirds of the

horses of the party, many of which, however, were found in the course of the day and brought in.

16th—Encamped on the Arkansas river, and find ourselves pretty nearly on foot, in consequence of the loss of our horses, and the estimated distance to St. Miguel, the first Spanish settlement, about 500 miles—a walk not altogether agreeable.

17th—Saw a considerable number of buffaloe; saw and pursued an Indian, but did not overtake him.

21st—Passed Louse Island; saw several wild horses.

22d—Travelled about 10 miles and stopped on the Arkansas river for the purpose of jerking buffalo meat. Killed 12 or 15 buffaloes and 2 wild horses.

28th—We this day crossed the Arkansas river and entered the N. Mexican Province. Encamped on the Sand Hills, without wood or water for man or beast.

29th—Travelled 30 miles; left our encampment at 4 o'clock, a. m., and travelled without making any halt until about 4 o'clock, p. m., without a drop of water for our horses or mules, by which time many of them were nearly exhausted, as well as a number of the men; a dog which had travelled with us during our journey, this day fell down and expired, such was the extreme heat and suffering. Fortunately for us all at about 4 o'clock a small ravine was discovered and pursued for a few miles, and after digging in the sand at the bottom of it, water was procured in sufficient quantity to satisfy both man and horse, but not till after five or six wells were sunk; and such was the extreme suffering of the animals that it was with the utmost difficulty could be kept out of the holes until buckets could be filled for them. I never in my life experienced a time when such general alarm and consternation pervaded every person on account of the want of water.

30th—We this day remained stationary for the purpose of recruiting our horses; several persons were sent out in search of water, who returned in the evening after having succeeded. Our horses appeared to be

astonishingly refreshed this morning. Our hunters killed several buffaloe and one wild horse.

July 3—Travelled along up the Semerone creek; water remarkably bad and scarce, having to dig for it at every place we stopped. One of our hunters wounded a wild horse, and brought him into camp; it is believed he can be recovered and made serviceable.

5th—Encamped on the same creek, where were three lodges of Indians. This day two of the dearborns gave way; one of them had a wheel entirely fitted out with new spokes in a very short time, and the other quickly repaired.

8th—Travelled about 23 miles over a very sandy barren prairie, without water. Saw many green grapes, wild currants, etc.

12th—Travelled over an uneven and mountainous country, we begin now to approach the Rocky Mountains and find the country uneven, with high projecting knobs of mountains and rocks. Encamped on a stream that empties into the Canadian fork of the Arkansas. Saw a great number of grasshoppers.

17th—Crossed Red river, the water of which is of a very deep red color, resembling thin, weak blood.

19th—Travelled in the midst of the cliffs and knobs of the Rocky Mountains; the mountains at this place are not exceedingly high, but appear to have been torn asunder by some uncommon convulsion of nature, and to rise in stupendous knobs and points; but little timber to be seen in any direction; saw a number of wild and uncommon plants and weeds, some of which were extremely odoriferous and fragrant; also a considerable number of birds of various kinds.

22nd — Arrived at the ranche or temporary residence of a Mr. Juan Peno, which is the first civilized habitation we have seen since we left the U. S. This was to us a pleasing prospect, as we were politely received. This man is wealthy, having 160,000 head of sheep, and many cattle, horses and mules. We encamped near his house, where we had fine spring water.

23d—Travelled over a very hilly broken country; encamped in the mountain without water; saw a number of herds of sheep and cattle. The sheep and cattle seem to be smaller than those of the U. S.

25th—Arrived and encamped in the rear of St. Miguel. Considerable rejoicing appeared among the natives on our arrival, and they welcomed us with the best music the place afforded. A description of this place can best be given by comparing it to a large brickyard, where there are a number of kilns put up and not burnt; as all the houses are made of bricks dried in the sun, and none of them burnt; all the roofs are entirely flat; the inhabitants appear to me to be a miserably poor people, but perfectly happy and contented, and appeared very desirous to make our situation as agreeable as possible.

27th—Left camp and travelled 3 miles on our way to Santa Fe, and encamped near a little village called St. James, where many of the inhabitants visited us. These people appear to be fond of the Americans, and wish to cultivate a good understanding with them.

28th—Arrived at Santa Fe about dusk. This is quite a populous place, but is built entirely of mud houses; some parts of the city are tolerably regularly built, others very irregularly. The inhabitants appear to be friendly, and some of them are very wealthy; but by far the greater part are the most miserable, wretched, poor creatures that I have ever seen; yet they appear to be quite happy and contented in their miserable priest-ridden situation.

This city is well supplied with good water; provisions very scarce; a great many beggars to be seen walking the streets.

31st—The distance from Franklin to this place is estimated at 931 miles. Entered our goods and arranged the taxes with the collector who appears to be an astonishingly obliging man as a public officer.

August 1st—Remained in town and endeavoring to sell goods, which we find difficult to do to advantage owing to the scarcity of money and the quality of the goods.

May 31st, 1825—This day I left Santa Fe for the United States, having remained in this country about 10 months, during which time the following is the result of my observations, etc., on the subject of the manners, customs, etc., of the country and people.

On my arrival in New Mexico, I was astonished at the blind zeal and enthusiasm of the people, all professing the Catholic religion, which I found to be the only religion tolerated in the country, and which I do verily believe is the best that could possibly be established among them, as they appear to live more happy under their religious yoke than any other profession I have ever known, and I believe die as happily as any people in the world. The homage and adoration which they pay to their priests, far surpass that of any other religious sect to their God and is much greater than they themselves pay to their God, as all their worship to Him consists of the most unmeaning ceremony.

As relates to their manners, customs, etc., I am reluctantly constrained to say, that I do not believe there is a people on the globe so entirely destitute of correct moral principles as the inhabitants of New Mexico, I scarcely know a single vice that it not indulged in by them to the very great excess, excepting that of intoxication, and the absence of this is owing to the scarcity of ardent spirits. In fact every vice reigns among this people to the greatest extent that their poor, miserable situation will admit. In justice, however, I can not forbear to remark, that there does exist among them one solitary virtue, and that is hospitality to strangers; for when I consider the scarcity there of human diet, I believe no people would more willingly divide their morsel with the stranger than they, and that too without any demand or expectation of compensation; but if you offer to return them the value, or ten times as much, it will at all times be received.

As relates to their ideas of decency or modesty, they appear to have the most imperfect notion, as the men and women will indiscriminately and freely converse together on the most

indecent, gross and vulgar subjects that can possibly be conceived, without the least embarrassment or confusion.

As regards the face of the country, it is in general remarkably poor and sterile, as not any kind of grain or vegetable can at any season of the year be raised without being watered by water from canals taken from springs or the rivers which run through the country.

There are among these people but very few men of information, and I believe no women at all of education. Their priests, perhaps, are the best informed men among them, and I sincerely believe nine-tenths of them to be the most abandoned scoundrels that disgrace human nature."

CITIES THAT WERE PROMISED.

In the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, the files of which are in the library of the State Historical Society, are advertisements of a number of towns mentioned below, not one of which can now be found in a directory of Missouri, and even as early as 1837 when Wetmore's Gazetteers was published they are not mentioned. The facts stated in the advertisements and the predictions made as to the future of the towns are of interest. The causes of their failures would be an interesting subject for investigation.

AMERICA.

Wm. M. Alexander for himself and other proprietors April 8, 1820, offered lots for sale. The town was ten miles above the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The town had been commenced a year before, was the permanent seat of justice of the county, and commanded the trade of an extensive, fertile and thriving tract of country.

COLUMBIA.

Robt. W. Morris, James Riggs and David P. Mahan were the proprietors of this town, October 1, 1819, which they state was in a pleasant and beautiful situation on the Missouri river, nearly opposite Missouri-ton, in the Little Osage bottom, and about forty miles nearly west of Boonville. An order of the County Court had been made to run a road from Boonville to the Pinnacles, fifteen miles below the town, through the main street of which its continuation would pass. The resulting great western communication through the town and its navigable advantages would make it one of the most public places on the Missouri. Other advantages were pointed out—immense coal banks, sufficiency of timber, four miles from Salt Fork of the Lamine river and a neighborhood rapidly populating.

It will be noticed this was not the present Columbia, but a town on the Missouri river.

COLUMBUS.

John D. Thomas, the proprietor, July 16, 1819, offered lots for sale. The town was situated on the South bank of the Missouri river, at the head of Petit Osage Bottom, and "nearly opposite the notorious town site in the Sugar Tree Bottom." It had several excellent springs of water which could be conveyed to any part of the town. There was a large bank of stone coal, an established ferry, and the town would probably be a county seat.

SMITHTON.

Taylor Berry, Richard Gentry and David Tod, trustees, July 23, 1819, advertise for a contract to build a double hewed log house, shingle roof, and stone chimneys, one story and a half high, also a contract to dig and wall a well.

The failure to find water in this well was probably the cause of moving the town across the small valley, and starting a new town which is the present Columbia.

MISSOURITON.

H. Carroll and Robert Wallace, August 20, 1819, told of this "seite" in the Sugar Tree Bottom, equally distant from Grand River and Crooked River Bluff, without any rival in the space of country between. The bottom was there eight to ten miles wide of fine soil and timber, encompassed by Wakenda and Crooked River lower settlements, from which a county would be formed, with this as its county seat.

The country around had increased in population rapidly, and within two hours ride were two mill sites, on one of which a mill would be erected that fall, while a horse mill would be built in the town immediately. On the opposite shore were excellent quarries of stone coal and limestone, and good building timber could be had without expense. The place was protected from being washed away by an island above the town throwing current away from it. Even at that early day ornamentation was not neglected, and 80 to 100 yards wide along the river were designed for a walk and park purposes. A ferry had been established from the town. Fifty lots would

be offered at public sale, and lots would be reserved for mechanics and tradesmen who would settle on and improve them.

PERSIA.

O. Babbitt, J. Tefft, E. Stanley and N. Patten, Jr., agents for the town, April 1, 1820, offered lots for sale. The town was situated on Rocher Perce Creek, on the main road leading from Franklin to St. Charles, about 28 miles from Franklin, and generally supposed to be in the center of a contemplated county, in a fertile country rapidly populating with wealthy and respectable citizens. Never-failing springs were close by, and Rocher Perce creek had a never failing supply of water for running mills at all times. Two of the proprietors would immediately build a saw and grist mill, near the town and erect a bridge across the creek. There would also be erected a brewery, distillery, carding machine and fulling mill. "The proprietors of this town do not wish to exhibit on paper, for purposes of speculation, as is too frequently the case, but wish purchasers to improve their lots and realize their value." Fifty lots were to be given merchants and mechanics or others who would build upon them according to certain specifications.

NASHVILLE.

Peter Bass, Richard Gentry and J. M. White, proprietors and agents for the other proprietors on December 17, 1819, advertised a public sale of lots in this town laid out on a Spanish grant which had been confirmed to the United States. It was on the north bank of the Missouri, near the mouth of Little Bonne Femme creek, about thirty miles below Franklin, and about the same distance from Cote sans Dessein. It was the nearest and most convenient point to the river for the numerous settlements in the Two Mile Prairie and surrounding country.

This was just below Providence and was named for Ira P. Nash. At one time it promised to be an important point, but finally the water swept it away.

F. A. SAMPSON.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, IN SALINE COUNTY, MO.

Introductory—When I agreed to prepare a paper on the history of Methodism in Saline County, I thought I had data sufficient to enable me to do the work, but I soon found that I really had only a part of what I needed, and that some of the more important classes of early organization I had nothing, and investigation showed that in some cases there were no records or journals, except minutes of the conference giving the appointments of the preachers, to be found. In my hunt for information I have been fortunate in finding persons who have furnished me with much valuable historical data. I am especially indebted to Mrs. Josephine Land, of Gilliam, daughter of Rev. Matthias Ayes in whose house, about eight miles north of Slater, a class was organized about 1836 or 1837; to Mrs. Mary Wall, of Slater, granddaughter of Richard Durritt, of Rock Creek, in whose cabin a class was organized about 1833; to Thomas Duggins, of Marshall, son of T. C. Duggins, in whose house a class was organized in 1841 or 1842; to Judge A. F. Brown, of Malta Bend, son of James Brown, one of the first members of the Grand Pass class, for valuable information concerning Malta Bend and Grand Pass classes; and to Rev. Milton Adkisson, who was born and reared in the southern part of the county, for very valuable information concerning the work generally in the county. His father's house was one of the first preaching places in the county.

I have not always been able to give exact dates, but the paper, I think, in all particulars is substantially correct, and the future historian can use it with the assurance that it contains no material errors. Some errors, I am sure, there are, and it could not be otherwise as much of it has been gathered from the memory of very old persons, but I rejoice that it has

been possible to rescue so much valuable history as I have from loss.

First Period, 1818-1844.—The first immigrants into the county located for the most part in the river bottoms under the impression that the uplands were not productive. In 1810 a man by the name of Cox began a settlement in the bottom not far above Arrow Rock. In the fall of 1816 James Wilhite and William Hayes settled in the Big Bottom east of and below Glasgow. About 1816 Richard Edmonson settled in what was afterwards called Edmondson's Bottom, a few miles up the river from the present town of Frankfort. The first settlers in the Miami bottom came about 1817. Settlements were also made on Blackwater in 1818, and Salt Pond in 1817. All of these settlements continued to grow but not very rapidly for some years, but in 1825 and 1826 two events greatly favored the more rapid and permanent settlement of the county. (1) The great overflow of the Missouri river broke up the settlements in the great bottoms and caused many of the settlers to select homesteads in the interior of the county. The extinguishment of Indian titles and the removal of the Indians from the State gave a wonderful impulse to immigration, and from that time the county filled up rapidly. That the new settlements were visited by the Circuit Rider and his co-laborers, the local preachers, with more or less regularity is not to be doubted, and probably classes in some or all of the new communities were organized, but if so no records of such organizations now exist. If any classes did exist they were broken up by the flood of 1825-6.

First Sermon.—In the autumn of 1817 Rev. John Scripps was appointed to Boon's Lick Circuit. Of this Circuit Mr. Scripps has left us the following description: "My Circuit extended on the north of the Missouri river from Cote Sans Dessein to Grand river, and on the south side from Jefferson

1. Annals of Methodism in Missouri, Rev. W. S. Woodard, Columbia, 1893, page 30.

City to where Lexington now is. On the night of February 18, 1818, I preached in Edmonson's Bottom in the farthest house on the south side of the Missouri river. On the 20th of July I preached to twenty or thirty persons in the Petitsaw Plains higher up the river." This sermon preached in the Edmonson Bottom was the first Methodist sermon ever preached in Saline county of which we have any record. That some local preacher may have been there previously is possible, but if so no record of such service remains.

The First Class.—It is supposed the first class of which we have any record was organized by Rev. John Scripps (2) at the house of Henry Nave (3) who lived in Coxe's Bottom about three miles north of Arrow Rock in 1818. Who were the original members we do not know, but doubtless Mr. Nave headed the list. How long the class existed we are not able to say but suppose till the settlement was broken up by the great overflow of 1825-6.

At the session of the Missouri Conference which met in the autumn of 1818 Lamine Circuit was set off from the Boon's Lick Circuit, and was the first circuit in what is now the Southwest Missouri Conference. This new circuit extended from Jefferson City up the river without limit and south and west to include all the new settlements. As will be seen Saline county was included in this new Circuit, but for years it was really a very small part of it.

2. John Scripps was born in Ireland. He came to Missouri when a boy and settled near Cape Girardeau in 1809. He entered the Conference in 1814 and was a member for ten years, during which time he filled the most important appointments. As to learning and general intelligence he easily stood at the front of his Conference and he was reckoned quite a scholar. He was a clear and forcible writer also.

3. Henry Nave was a native of Tennessee, and one of Andrew Jackson's soldiers in the war of 1812. He and others from Tennessee and Kentucky settled in Coxe's Bottom in 1816. After the great overflow in 1825, he selected a new homestead about five miles west of Arrow Rock, where he lived until his death which occurred in 1884 at the age of 96 years. Mr. Nave was a charter member of Arrow Rock Lodge No. 55 A. F. & A. M. He belonged to the class of grand men who have contributed so largely to the good name of his adopted state.

For six years there is no record of the work of the itinerant in the county. For this seeming neglect, there are two reasons at least. First there were few settlers except in the bottoms, and as we have before stated, if any classes were organized in these first settlements, as is possible, all records of such were lost. In the second place, only one preacher was appointed to this large Circuit, and the lower part of it being well settled demanded all his time.

Smith's Chapel.—A class was organized in the Bingham settlement and probably in the cabin of Wyatt Bingham in 1824, as we suppose by Stephen R. Begg, who was the preacher for that year on the Lamine Circuit. Among the first members were Wyatt Bingham and wife, Walter Adkisson and wife, Adam Steele and wife and Benjamin Brown. For over twenty years services were held in private houses, alternating between the residences of Henry Nave, Adam Steele, Wyatt Bingham and Walker Adkisson. About 1845 a large frame school house was built one and one-half miles east and a half mile south of where Smith's Chapel now stands. It was called Bingham's school house. In this house all denominations worshiped for several years. In 1857 a frame church was erected at a cost of about \$2,000 and named Smith's Chapel. Dr. C. E. Smith donated the land and gave \$300 for its erection, hence its name. In 1894 a new and commodious church superceded the old frame building. Smith's Chapel Society is noted for the number of young men sent into the ministry of the church, not less than 14 since its organization, some of whom became prominent and all useful and faithful ministers of the gospel. The Chapel is about ten miles east and one and one-half miles south of Arrow Rock. It still exerts a strong and healthful moral and religious influence in the community.

Arrow Rock.—The first authentic record we have of the Arrow Rock class is that of 1831, when the membership was composed of William Brown and wife, Miss Nancy Futwell,

Mrs. Nancy Bingham, Rudolph Haupe and wife, Joseph Patterson and wife, Benjamin Huston and wife, and Jesse and Margaret Reid. The class worshipped first in private houses, then in a school house used by all denominations. In 1849 a church was erected at a cost of about \$2,000, and in 1850 was dedicated by James Mitchel. This church is still in use and in a good state of preservation. This society soon became a very important one, and a point from which many members went out to other classes as they were formed in contiguous neighborhoods.

In 1834 the name of the Circuit was changed from Lamine to Arrow Rock, a name it has ever since borne. In 1835 a session of the Missouri Conference was held at Arrow Rock in connection with a camp meeting. Tenters were in attendance from other parts of the country, not only to participate in the religious services of the meeting, but also to assist in the entertainment of the ministers in attendance on the Conference and other visitors. In that day the campers dispensed bountiful hospitality. The Missouri Conference at this time included the states of Missouri and Arkansas and that part of Missouri Territory, now the State of Kansas, and the Indian Territory lying south of Kansas. Over sixty preachers received appointments, but how many were present at the session of the Conference we do not know. It is said that during the session the daily attendance was about 1000, which was large for that day. The Conference remained in session for ten days. The venerable Bishop Roberts presided. Among those in attendance were many Christian Indians, members of Missions just west of the Missouri line. They belonged to the Shawnee, Delaware and Kickapoo tribes.

Grand Pass.—The class of Grand Pass was organized in the house of J. DeMot in 1832, by B. R. Johnson, then in charge of the Lexington Circuit. The charter members were Elizabeth and Obiah DeMot and Elizabeth and Louisa Lewis. From a letter of Judge A. F. Brown we take the following concerning this, the first and one of the most important so-

cieties in the county: "My first recollection of the early Methodist preachers was in the thirties, probably 1835, when this country was very thinly settled, and they first preached in private houses. In the neighborhood of Grand Pass they preached at John DeMot's, who kept the postoffice and sometimes at the house of John M. Lewis, and at my father's. After about 1838 or 1840 preaching was in a school house one and one-half miles from Grand Pass, and in summer time basket meetings were held in a grove. These meetings were attended by the people from miles around. In 1846 Grand Pass Chapel was built. Its trustees were Joel Meadows, Pleasant Horner and James Brown, my father.

"A protracted meeting soon after this Chapel was dedicated resulted in quite a number of additions to the church. Some of the most prominent citizens of the county were among the new converts, among them Dr. G. W. Hereford, Col. John M. Lewis and many others. Among early members were James and Mary R. Brown, Joel Meadows and wife, Pleasant Horner and wife, John Frizzell and wife, Mary J. and Harriet Lewis. The society continued to prosper for many years, but it is not so prosperous now. Other classes organized in nearby neighborhoods have greatly interfered with the growth of the mother class." In 1884 a new church took the place of the old chapel. It cost \$1,800. For many years Grand Pass was one of the most important societies of the denomination in that part of the county and was a center of great influence.

Rock Creek.—The exact date of the organization of the Rock Creek Church seems to be lost. Richard Durrett came from Virginia and settled in the neighborhood in 1832. He was a member of the Methodist Church in Virginia, and as soon as he had a dwelling for his family it seems he opened it, as the phrase was then used, for religious services, and the first Methodist sermon in that neighborhood was preached in his house, either by W. W. Redman or John K. Lacy and we think by the former. The class, it is all but certain, was or-

ganized in 1832 or 1833 by Rev. Wm. W. Redman. Among the early members were Richard Durrett and wife, Mrs. Sarah Pemberton, Anderson Kirbey and wife, Mortamar Gains and wife and Charles W. Cathrae and wife. Mr. Durrett was liberal and progressive and contributed more than any one else to the success of this infant organization. The preaching for years was in his house and there also were held prayer and class meetings, he being one of the Leaders. The first house erected for public meeting was of logs and used as a school house and church for many years, and until the frame church was built in 1852. Richard Durrett not only gave the land on which the first house was erected, but also the ground on which the new church in 1852 was built together with land for a camp ground and cemetery. The church erected in 1852 during the pastorate of Revs. W. W. Prottzman and T. M. Finney was occupied by the society until the present church at Orearville was erected in 1885 when the Rock Creek society was disbanded, part of the members going into the Orearville society and others into the societies of Shiloh and Marshall. The old church is now used as an outhouse on a farm. Many famous camp meetings were held at the old Rock Creek camp grounds. One especially held about 1852 is still remembered by old people and spoken of as a meeting of wonderful power and far reaching in its influence.

A Typical House of Worship of a Primitive Community.—

Lest we forget, I insert the description of the house first used by the Methodists of the Rock Creek neighborhood, by Rev. Milton Adkisson. Mr. Adkisson was born, reared and licensed to preach in Saline County and once was pastor of the Rock Creek society. He has been for fifty-three years a minister in the Methodist church, is still living beloved and highly esteemed by all who know him.

'Rock Creek church was decidedly primitive. Constructed of hewed logs pointed with lime mortar. Measurement, 20 by 25 feet, old fashioned fire place in the east end, door in the center of south side; a small window on each side

of the door contained twelve lights eight by ten inches, with similar ones on the north side. Seats were made of split logs, flat side up, each half log having four legs in it. The roof was of short boards supported by rafters and cross strips, clear open space between floor and roof. At base of the rafters the sparrows and peewees built their nests, in plain view of the congregation. About the second time W. M. Prottzman preached there I heard him say, 'This old barn is not fit for pigeons to roost in.' "

Miami.—In the year 1834 and 1835 Abraham Milin traveled the Arrow Rock Circuit and organized a class near Miami under an elm tree. This class was transferred to Miami later. Its members were Mother Terrell, aunt of Rev. W. M. Terrell, a local preacher, — Clemens and wife and N. Perry and wife. Mother Terrell was a power for good in Saline county. She went far and near to attend meetings. She was wonderfully gifted in prayer and exhortation. She is still affectionately remembered by the people of her old neighborhood. The first house of worship was a frame one which was burned during the war. The present church, a substantial brick building, was erected 1869 to 1871, during the pastorate of Rev. W. S. Woodard at a cost of \$6,500.

Mount Carmel.—There is some uncertainty as to the date of the organization of this class. Rev. W. S. Woodard in his "Annals of Methodism in Missouri," says it was organized one or two years after the organization of the Miami class. According to this, Mt. Carmel class must have been organized in 1837 or 1838, and as B. R. Johnson was on the Circuit at that time it is quite certain that he organized it. Services were held in a school house erected by Maj. T. H. Harvey on his own land. There were few or no public school houses at that time. Among the early members of the first class we find the names of William Brown and Lucy, his wife, Josiah Gaulden and his wife, B. T. Irwine and wife, Hugh Irvine and wife, T. H. Harvey and Elizabeth, his wife, Mrs. Lucinda

Johnson, wife of the pastor, as we suppose, and T. R. E. Harvey, son of Maj. T. H. Harvey, who remained on the home place until a short time before his death in 1903, at the age of seventy-six, and who for all these years was a pillar in his church, the worthy son of a worthy father, and a leading citizen. A substantial brick church was erected in 1850 during the pastorate of W. M. Prottzman, at a cost of about \$3,000. It is yet in a good state of repair and still in use at this writing, 1910.

Cambridge—The Cambridge class was organized in August, 1837, by Rev. George W. Bewley, in old Jefferson, some distance up the river from where the town of Cambridge was afterwards located. The first members were Robert C. Land and America Land, his wife, and his sister, Charlotte B. Land, Robert Martyr and Mary Martyr, his wife, Winston and Frances Loving, John A. Hicks and Mary Wooldridge with R. C. Land as class leader. The first church was built in old Jefferson in 1840 or 1841 and dedicated by Rev. J. R. Bennett. It was about 30 by 40 feet and cost between \$700 and \$800. This was the first Methodist church erected in this county. In 1855 the present church, 36 by 54 feet, was erected in Cambridge. This is a frame and is still in a good state of preservation. It cost \$2,400. As was the custom at that time, a galary was built in it for the use of the colored people with an outside door so that they could go in and out without disturbing the congregation of white worshippers. During the war a detachment of soldiers took possession of the church, surrounded it with a strong stockade and occupied it for several months. Of course all public religious services were suspended in Cambridge for the time.

Such names as the Lands, Gilliams, Duggins, Richison, Goode, Smith, Harris and others comprising the best citizens of the community were to be found on the register of the society in the early days. All or nearly all of the early members were from Virginia. For many years the Cambridge class was one of the most important and influential in the

county, but when the Chicago and Alton Railroad was built leaving Cambridge off its line, and the new towns of Slater and Gilliam were located, many of the substantial members moved to one of the other of these new towns and of course changed the place of their membership. The Cambridge class is now few in numbers and weak financially, nearly all the old members having moved away. They have regular preaching once a month with an occasional extra service.

The Class in the Ayers Neighborhood.—Of this class Mrs. Land, of Gilliam, widow of the late R. T. Land, (4) writes: "The preaching place was at my father's, Matthias Ayers' house. He moved from Virginia in 1836, and I think the class was organized soon after he came. Preaching was on Wednesday morning, 11 a. m. being the usual hour. Services were probably held once in four weeks. The services were well attended by the neighbors and most of them would stay for dinner, until they were reproved for doing so by Rev. Benjamin Johnson, the Circuit preacher, which greatly mortified my father and mother, as they were glad to have the neighbors stay, and always prepared for them, as such a custom was usual then. Preaching continued for a number of years and then the names of the members were transferred to Cambridge." This transfer probably took place about 1855 when the new church, still in use, was erected. The transfer of the members of the Ayres class refers to only a part of the class especially to members of the Ayres family. The families of Wooldridge, Woodson and others still remained, and preaching was continued in the neighborhood in the Rhodes school house till about 1875 or 1876, when the preaching place was changed to Frankfort where it continued till 1879, when the class was merged in the new class organized in Slater.

4. Robert Frank Land was born in Virginia, 1835, the family coming to Missouri in 1836. He was the son of Judge Robert C. Land, who was the most prominent original member of the Class organized at Old Jefferson, afterwards Cambridge.

The Duggins Class.—Of this class we have the following history from Mr. Thomas Duggins, of Marshall, Missouri. He says: "My father, Thomas C. Duggins, came to Saline county in 1841 and settled in the Sharron neighborhood, seven miles northwest of the present town of Slater. In 1845 he moved into the neighborhood three miles west of Slater. The class was formed at his house in 1841 or 1842 and preaching was held regularly in his house. After he moved the preaching was continued in his home in the new neighborhood, and so continued till 1858 when the Mount Horeb church was built." This was a union house erected by the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Methodists. The class continued to worship at Mount Horeb until the Slater society was organized in 1879 when the original Duggins class was merged into the Slater society. Following are some of the first members of the Duggins class: Thomas C. Duggins, Mrs. E. W. Duggins, his wife, Thomas Jackson and wife, Margaret, and daughter, Miss Mary; John Jackson and wife, Sarah; Levi Cram, wife and daughter. Mr. Duggins was a man of more than ordinary ability and influence. He was devoted to his church and his library was stocked with Methodist books and literature. His wife was one of the most devoted and consecrated Christian women. For some fifteen or more years the house of Mr. and Mrs. Duggins was a Methodist chapel. As it is likely that the preaching service was on a week day it meant the loss of much time and money, for the custom then was that many would stay after preaching for dinner and spend the afternoon in social intercourse. Yet these early Methodists gladly made such sacrifices that they and their neighbors might hear the gospel.

Marshall.—The society in Marshall was organized in 1842 by Rev. W. P. Nicholds. The first members were Rev. John Hood and wife, Dr. John Hicks and wife, John A. Trigg, Mrs. Rebecca Trigg, Fleming H. Brown, Benoni Robian and Thomas Davis. The first church building was a frame, built probably about 1854 or 1855; and dedicated by Rev. Peter Akers, 1855

or 1856. The second church, a brick building, was began in 1870, and dedicated by Bishop Marvin in 1876. It is said to have cost \$9,000. This church was superceded in 1889 by another and superior one. The society or church is strong and prosperous. The register contains the names of 547 members and many of the most influential citizens are in the communion.

Elmwood.—According to the "History of Saline County" the first preaching in Elmwood township was by Rev. A. Millice. As he was the preacher on the Arrow Rock Circuit from September 1834 to September 1835, the preaching service referred to probably was held in the summer of 1835, the same year that he organized a class at Miami. It is supposed that he may have organized a class at that time in the house of Samuel Hays where the services were held, but if so all record of the event is lost. The first preaching service of which we have any authentic information was conducted in a school house located between Elmwood and Sweet Springs in 1852, but by whom we do not know; probably by Rev. William Prottsman. Preaching was continued in the school house until the Ebenezer church was built; the time of its erection is not definitely known but was between 1852 and 1856. This church was located about two and one-half or three miles west of Elmwood. During the war the class at Ebenezer suffered as did many of the classes in the county, and like some others was compelled to suspend all church services till peace came again.

In 1866 Rev. J. R. Bennett held a successful meeting and reorganized the Ebenezer class. The Ebenezer church was in use until a class was organized in the town of Elmwood. The Ebenezer church was then sold to be used as a dwelling and is so used at the present time. When the town of Elmwood was laid out in 1867, Rev. N. Tolbert was the first to conduct religious services in the new town. The Methodists, doubtless, continued to make use of the school house as a place of worship till the present church was built in 1874. The class now num-

bers seventy-four. Among the original members of the old Ebenezer class were William Davis and wife, James Beaty and wife, William Beaty, Samuel Beaty, James Dysart and wife and Samuel Martin and wife. For the foregoing facts I am indebted to Mrs. Samuel Fitzpatrick, of Marshall, daughter of William Davis, one of the original members.

We have now reached the end of the first period of the existence of Methodism in Saline county, the period beginning with the first sermon preached by John Scripps in Edmonson's Bottom in February, 1818, and ending with the session of the Missouri Conference held in September, 1844, the last session of the Conference held before the division of the church was consummated. The first period was the seed time of the church. The Circuit rider and local preacher literally followed the newly made wagon trail of the immigrants to the new settlements, preaching to the people wherever hearers could be secured, and forming classes wherever a few members could be secured. In this way preaching places were established in nearly every settlement in the county.

This was the period of self-denial on the part of the preacher and his family. A bare support was all he could hope for, and even that was often denied him. How he managed to live on the small pittance, called quarterage, will always remain an unsolved problem.

This was, in a peculiar sense, the period of great usefulness of the exhorter. He seldom took a text but in all other respects his work was very much like that of the local preacher. His themes were repentance, faith, conversion and holy living. His labors were often crowned with great success.

This was pre-eminently the period of the local preacher. It is hard to understand how the infant church could have succeeded without him. He preached where the Circuit Rider could not go for want of time. He preached to societies on the Sabbath where the Circuit Rider could only visit on a week day. He married the young folks, buried the dead and, if ordained, he baptised the new converts and children. He

organized new classes, and, in short, did the work of the itinerant in his absence, and frequently assisted in revivals and camp meetings.

This was also the period of class leader, the preacher's right hand man, his under shepherd. In many places the work of the preacher was limited to a single sermon once in four weeks, and that on a week day. Sometimes a local preacher could visit these small and often out of the way classes, but often the regular preacher's single monthly sermon was all the preaching the people would have. But the class leader would hold service for them on the Sabbath, and watch over and care for them as a true shepherd, and thus conserve the work of the pastor, adding to the preacher's work his own labors and influence. The class meeting was without doubt the greatest means of grace and growth in spiritual life in the early church.

The camp meeting of this period was a most valuable agent in reaching the people with the gospel. All the regular preaching was done in the settlers' cabins and the small log school house. To hold protracted services in these small buildings was all but impossible. This condition made the camp meeting a necessity and nearly every circuit had one or more camp grounds where meetings were held annually, and generally in the late summer or early autumn. Every one in the circuit looked forward to these great religious occasions. They were usually times of refreshing. Many new converts would be made and new members received. These would be from different parts of the county and of course the new members would go to different classes, so that the entire circuit would sometimes be greatly built up and benefited. But the local preacher, class leader and camp meeting have served the providential purpose for which they were so well adapted and are passing never more to return, and their names even are soon to be only a memory.

At the close of this period there were eleven organized classes with a membership of a few more than 500, but with only one small meeting house, the one built at Old Jefferson

in 1840. The following preachers served the church during this period: John Scripps, W. R. Jones, Levin Green, F. B. Leach, S. R. Biggs, Uriah Haw, John Harris, William Crane, J. Williams, W. W. Redman, E. T. Peery, J. K. Lacy, Abraham Milice, George W. Bewley, Benjamin R. Johnson, R. H. Jordan, Hugh L. Dodds, William P. Nichols, and John Thatcher. The Presiding Elders were David Sharp, Jesse Hale, John Drew, Andrew Monroe, Jesse Green, A. M. McAlister, Joseph Edmondson, W. W. Redman, J. M. Jameson.

Second Period, 1845 to 1860.—Prairie Ridge.—This class was organized in 1853. For sometime the Methodists worshipped in a house called Salt Fork Church, owned jointly by them and the Cumberland Presbyterians. The present church building was erected in 1888. B. H. Gragg was the first pastor of the new church. This class was the only one so far as we have any record, that was organized in the county between the Conference sessions of 1844 and 1860. Beginning the second period of our sketch with 1845 we note no special change in the work of the church for some time. Until 1849 only one preacher was assigned each year to Arrow Rock Circuit, which included the entire county, but about 1845 to 1850 there began a period of great prosperity for the entire country, in which Saline county had its full share including the church. The farmer found ready market for his hemp, tobacco and live stock at remunerative prices. Improvement and advancement were noted on every hand. Immigrants were rapidly settling on the rich unoccupied government land and development was rapid. The growth of the church both in numbers and financial ability kept pace with the county, and as it became able to better support these preachers, a demand was made for more Sabbath day preaching. To meet this demand, two preachers, T. T. Ashby and Thomas G. James, were sent to the circuit in the fall of 1849. This policy was continued until 1852 when Arrow Rock Circuit was divided, forming the Circuits of Arrow Rock and Saline. The first embraced the following classes: Arrow Rock, Ridge Prairie, Rock Creek,

Bingham's School house, now Smith's Chapel, and Marshall. Saline Circuit was composed of Cambridge, Miami, Mt. Carmel, T. C. Duggins and the Ayers classes. Each circuit probably embraced preaching places where no society existed, and of which there is no record as far as is known. This arrangement of two circuits continued to the end of the period. These two circuits included all the societies in the county except Grand Pass.

This period was an era of church building. Good substantial frame buildings were erected as follows: Smith's Chapel, Arrow Rock, Rock Creek, Cambridge, Marshall, Miami and Grand Pass. The church at Mt. Carmel is of brick. These houses, with possibly two exceptions, cost from \$1200 to \$2500. All the classes continued to grow numerically so that at the close of the Conference year, in the fall of 1860 there were reported over 700 members in the county. It must be borne in mind that during this period many of the early settlers including not a few Methodists sold their improved claims and went further west or to other parts of the State where they could select new claims of unimproved land, and with the money obtained for their Saline county claims, purchase from the Government a permanent homestead.

Third Period, 1861-1907.—Malta Bend.—About 1864 Dr. A. P. Brown began to hold prayer meetings first in vacant houses then in school houses at Little Grove, near Malta Bend. No class was organized till 1884. The members of the neighborhood held their membership with the Grand Pass society. But in 1884 J. A. Greening, who was the preacher on Grand Pass circuit, held a successful meeting in Malta Bend and organized a society. In 1891 the present church was erected at a cost of \$1800. The Circuit parsonage is located at Malta Bend. We are indebted to Judge A. F. Brown, one of the oldest and most highly esteemed citizens of Malta Bend, for the above facts. Judge Brown is the son-in-law of the late Rev. J. R. Bennett, once a prominent minister of Missouri Methodism.

Sweet Springs.—The class at Brownsville, now Sweet Springs, was set off from the Blackwater society by Rev. W. B. McFarland in 1870. The class consisted of Fletcher Patrick and family, C. H. Wells and family, William Chapman, E. Chapman and Benjamin Smith. The church building, a union one, belonged to the Presbyterians and Methodists and was built in 1868. It was occupied jointly by the two churches. Regular Methodist services were held in it for some time before the Brownsville members were constituted into a separate class in 1870. The Methodists now have an attractive house of worship of their own.

Saline City.—We can not ascertain definitely when the class at Saline City was organized, but probably sometime in the '60's. Church services were held in a school house one-half mile west of town. In 1873 a successful meeting resulted in a number of additions to the society. This enabled them to erect a substantial frame church building, still standing. For some time the society was prosperous, but some years ago German immigrants bought the farms of many of the members of the society, which so reduced its membership that the organization was given up. Some of the members joined nearby societies, while others moved away.

Walnut Grove.—This class was organized in 1877. Among the original members were R. Jones and wife, B. E. Lawless, John Smith and wife, Isaac Nave, Jr., J. H., E. B., Mary E., E. E. and N. H. Jamison. The society worshipped in a hall erected jointly by the Granger Lodge, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches. This society after a few years gave up its organization, the members uniting with other nearby societies.

Hernden.—The class at Hernden was organized by Rev. A. M. Rader in 1866. The first members were R. P. Wall and wife, W. G. Boatright and wife, Al Hudson and wife, James Ashman, B. Riggins, Mrs. Crawford, Mrs. Jackson and

and Mrs. Marshall. The house of worship was built in 1868 and dedicated by Rev. M. M. Pugh in 1878.

Rose Valley—The Rose Valley class was organized by Rev. C. H. Wells, a local preacher. J. C. Sink, J. A. Sink, Dora Sink, W. Rothrock, E. Rothrock, L. Ezell, S. Ezell and B. F. Burford were the members. The church was built in 1880 at a cost of \$900. We have not been able to get the date of organization of this class.

Slater.—The society at Slater was organized in 1879. Among the original members we find the names of Andrew Bridges, A. Kirby, W. H. Dyer, H. C. Mead, John A. Rich and A. F. Pector. Between thirty and forty composed the first class at its organization. They consisted of the members from Mt. Horeb, Frankfort, Cambridge and other points. A church building was erected the same year at a cost of \$1600. It was dedicated by D. R. McAnally, D. D., in September, 1880. In the fall of 1881, W. J. Carpenter was appointed to Slater Circuit. He continued to serve the church there for four years. Early in his pastorate he held a wonderful revival meeting which resulted in the additions of many members to the society. The church building not being large enough to accommodate the congregation, even after being enlarged, the trustees disposed of it and erected a commodious brick building at the cost of \$10,000. It is today the most attractive and elegant church building in the county. It was erected in 1893 and was dedicated by Bishop Hendrix. The present membership is 280.

Rich Chapel—About 1880 a class was organized at Carpenter's school house a few miles below Miami. About ten years later the present chapel was erected and named in honor of Rev. George W. Rich, a superannuated preacher of the Missouri Conference, who was serving them at that time as pastor.

Gilliam.—From the best information obtainable, the Gilliam class was organized in 1881 by W. J. Carpenter, pastor. Many of the members were transferred from the Cambridge society, having moved to Gilliam when the Chicago and Alton Railroad was built. The church building was erected about that time largely or entirely by the liberality of W. T. Gilliam, proprietor of the town bearing his name.

Blackburn.—This class was organized about 1884 and the church building erected during the pastorate of A. B. Donaldson, 1890 or 1891. Strange as it may seem we have not been able to get the exact dates. As is often the case, the statement is made that the records are lost. It has always been half of a pastoral charge. No remarkable incident is connected with its history.

O'Rearville.—For many years the members in and about O'Rearville held their membership at Rock Creek, but when the county became more densely settled the church at Rock Creek became inaccessible because there was no public road by which it could be reached, the people owning the adjoining lands refusing to give the right of way for a road to the church. In view of this difficulty, it was decided to sell the old building and put up a better one in O'Rearville. This house was erected in 1885, during the pastorate of W. B. McFarland. The house cost probably \$1800 to \$2000.

Shiloh.—The Shiloh church was erected in 1885, B. H. Gragg, pastor. The society was organized, we believe, the same year. The members of the society at its organization were drawn in part from the societies of Arrow Rock, Smith's Chapel and Rock Creek.

Nelson.—The date of the organization of the class at Nelson is not certainly known, but is said to have been not long before the church building now in use was erected, 1889-90,

C. A. Lewis being the preacher in charge. Among the original members were A. J. Conaway, Emma Thornton, Abram Leffer and wife, Mollie Sparks, Mollie Redman, J. C. Sappington, Mrs. Lena Sappington, T. L. Jackson and Mrs. L. Jackson.

Of this period we have thought it only necessary to give the bare facts. The societies are now keeping their church records with more care than has heretofore been observed and the future historian will have little trouble in collecting all needed data concerning the church of this period. The present number of church buildings and societies in the county is twenty and number of church members, 2374.

Slater, Mo.

JOAB SPENCER.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Fifth Paper.

The following inscriptions are from monuments in the City cemetery at Boonville. (1)

William W. Adams born Nov 14, 1789, died Sept 10, 1875.

Nancy, wife of W. W. Adams, born Jan. 25, 1794, died Aug. 14, 1865.

Benj. Franklin, son of James & Penelope Alexander, born Jan. 24, 1835, died Mch. 17, 1849.

Wm. T. Almond died Sept. 29, 1842, aged 27 years.

Oliver P. son of W. P. & M. J. Alverson, died June 27, 1835, aged 18 years & 9 days.

Harriet M. Babbitt died Apr. 26, 1857, aged 29 yrs. 8 mo. 18 dys.

John Babbitt died Sept. 22, 1855, aged 35 yrs, 11 mos. 13 dys.

Mary M. wife of W. Babbitt died Dec. 31, 1861, aged 35 yrs, 8 mos, 21 dys.

Jerome Babbitt died June 6, 1857, aged 25 yrs, 4 mos.

Nancy, wife of Ira Babbitt died — aged 69 yrs, 8 mo, 3 dys.

Cassandra C. Baird died Mch. 30, 1844, aged 3 yrs. & 5 mos.

Susan Barcus died Aug. 8, 1885, aged 86 yrs.

John B. Beck died Sept. 15 1844, aged 55 yrs.

Margaret wife of J. B. Beck born Dec 25 1800, died Apr. 27, 1882.

Isaac N. Bernard died Aug. 10, 1860, in his 68th year.

Susan wife of I. N. Bernard died June 20, 1863, aged —

Susana Bernard died Oct. 1864 aged 70 years.

Louis Bernard born June 25, 1830, died Dec. 5, 1863.

1. With some additions this list includes all inscriptions earlier than 1876, and those later of persons more than 75 years old.

S. E. Bingham died Nov. 1848, aged 29 years.

Charles Bowles born Feb. 17, 1839, died Oct. 6, 1907.

Louisa wife of Chas. Bowles died May 10, 1890, aged 55 yrs.

Eliza wife of Pharaoh Bowles, born Apr. 16, 1822, died Aug. 27, 1897.

Louis H. Braxton born in Louis Co. Va, Aug. 6, 1851, died Sept. 9, 1903.

Lucy E. wife of C. C. Braxton died Sept. 6, 1896, aged 49 yrs.

Robt. T. Brent born in Warrenton, Va., Mch. 17, 1823. Killed by the Apache Indians at Dead Man's Spring, New Mexico, Dec. 2, 1851.

Robert Brent born Sept. 15, 1787, died Aug. 16, 1852.

Mary Jane [Brent] [name erased] born Aug. 1846, died Sept. 26, 1851, aged 5 yrs, 1 mo.

Farewell dear Mary no angry storm

Shall break your deep repose

Bright angels tend to guard thee home

Till Gabriel's trumpet blows

Your dearest little hazel eyes

That often wept distress

Now sleeps upon a claye bed

Your spirit gone to rest.

I cannot wish thee back again

From yonder heavenly shore

Yet daily, hourly I feel

Thy loss dear Mary, more.

ELLEN BRENT.

Patsie wife of Morgan Brown Jan. 1, 1864, Apr. 27, 1906.

Annie wife of Max Burbeck, died Nov. 6, 1884, aged 32 yrs.
3 mo. 2 dys.

James Buchanan, A. M. M. D. C. M. died Aug. 31, 1844, aged 45 yrs. Native of Renfrewshire, Scotland.

Anna L. Byas born July 1, 1860, died May 20, 1882.

Cassandra wife of Jas. Carter born July 28, 1786, died Oct. 31, 1851.

James A. son of Joseph & Susan Cassell born Jan. 18, 1834, died Mar. 6, 1860.

Wm. H. Colt son of John G. & Mary Colt died Oct. 3, 1856, aged 40 yrs. 2 mo. 3 days.

Elizabeth S. Craghill born Oct. 15, 1825, died Nov. 28, 1847.

Far from my friends I lie alone.

J. W. Crenshaw died Sept. 17, 1843, aged 16 yrs.

Addie V. wife of Wm. H. Crosby born June 11, 1873, died May 14, 1899.

Sarah Crow born Aug. 1812, died Feb. 1893.

Ellanora daughter of J. B. & M. C. Davis died Dec. 5, 1843, aged 2 yrs, 27 dys.

Matilda K. wife of W. Dengolesky, born in Boonville, Mo., July 21, 1848, died in San Francisco, Cal. Mch 24, 1876.

B. Dennington died Mch. 8, 1852, aged 45 years.

Alex Dougherty died Oct. 6, 1880, aged 58 yrs.

James Dow born Dec. 3, 1793, in New Hampshire, died Sept. 24, 1851.

Mary Echard wife of Joseph Echard born Aug. 25, 1803, died July 8, 1845.

Martin D. Hardin Field born Dec. 12, 1817 at Richmond, Ky, died near Boonville Oct. 11, 1841.

Anton Fuchs, born Sept. 10, 1795, died Aug. 11, 1843.

Rosina wife of Anton Fuchs born in Herboltzheim, Dukedom of Baden, Germany, Feb. 10, 1800, died May 30, 1862.

Frank Fuchs died Aug 29, 1865, aged 32 yrs 7 mo 20 dys.

Sophia R. daughter of C. & M. Fuchs died Aug. 28, 1857, aged 5 mo. 28 dys.

Henry S. Gardiner born Sept. 27, 1801, in Maryland, died Apr. 8, 1848.

Eliza V. wife of John Garnett born July 24, 1808, died Oct. 2, 1845.

Mary Frances daughter of J. & E. V. Garnett born Jan. 16, 1834, died Sept. 3, 1845.

John Garth died May 22, 1879 aged 35 years.

Margaret wife of L. Geiger died Jan. 5, 1877, aged 47 yrs, 2 mo 10 dys.

Katharine Gertz born Feb. 6, 1836, in Germany, died Feb. 9, 1895.

- Mary M. wife of Eli E. Hammond died Aug. 9, 1841, aged 39 yrs 5 mos.
- Emanuel Harnsberger born 1792, died Aug. 14, 1849, aged 57 yrs. 5 mo. 22 dys.
- W. J. Harnsberged died July 8, 1851, aged 28 yrs 10 mo 15 dys.
- Cora Harris born Feb 13, 1864, died Apr. 10, 1888.
- Sarah F. wife of Wm. Harvey died Feb. 13, 1850, aged 61 yrs 2 mo 20 days.
- Reinhard Hissrich born Dec 20 1807 in Homburg, Ger. died Nov. 7, 1855.
- Saml B. Hocker son of Saml & Sarah Hocker of Ky. died Apr. 11, 1851 aged 38 yrs 4 mo 23 dys.
- F. Houx died Nov. 13, 1866, aged 83 yrs 8 mo 23 dys.
- Martha C. wife of John W. Houx born Feb. 16, 1835, died Apr. 11, 1855.
- Henry Humburg May 24, 1846, May 21, 1894. A faithful and honest man.
By a friend.
- Chas. Hutchinson died Nov. 1848, aged 63 yrs.
- Nathaniel Hutchison died Mar. 23, 1856 aged 66 yrs.
- Rebecca T. Hutchison died May 1848 aged 19 yrs.
- Mary Jackson born June 10, 1853, died June 22 1898.
- William Jackson born Sept. 1831, died June 8, 1904.
- James S. Jones born Sept. 15, 1791, died July 24, 1867.
- Nancy A. wife of James S. Jones born Feb. 15, 1803, died May 12, 1865.
- Caroline Kessel died Jan. 2, 1882, aged 68 yrs.
- Rev. John Koelle geb July 19, 1823, gest. Mch. 8, 1870 alter 46 yrs. — mo. 19 dys.
- Elizabeth Lahlman born Jan. 1, 1800 in Germany, died Sept. 9, 1878.
- Wm. E. Lewis son of Jesse & Amelia Lewis died Mch. 14, 1846, aged 7 yrs 9 mo 12 dys.
- Gerhard Lutz born Feb 27, 1805, in Wilberhofen, died May 10, 1856.
- John P. Lynch born Jan. 7, 1835, in N. Y. died Oct. 15, 1855.

Alex McGorkle died May 30, 1851, aged 57 yrs.

Parthenia wife of John P. Maddox died Sept. 17, 1856 aged 45 yrs 10 m 6 dys.

Mary G. Maine born Dec. 9, 1858, died Jan. 26, 1888.

Caroline Meierhoffer (no data).

George Miller died Oct. 30, 1856, aged 33 years.

Levi Mills born Mch. 1, 1815, in Carroll Co., Ky., died Oct. 9, 1879.

Thos. B. Mitchell born Dec. 20, 1831, died Nov. 20, 1850.

Catherine Morgkel died Apr. 21, 1879, aged 76 yrs. 11 mo. 19 d

Elizabeth E. daughter of David & Eleanor Morrow died Nov. 28, 1855 aged 22 yrs 9 mo 7 dys.

Emma daughter of same died June 22, 1868 aged 32 yrs 9 mo 27 dys.

Elizabeth Moss died Apr. 8, 1855, aged 75 yrs 6 mo 28 dys.

John Moss died Mch. 2, 1848, aged 77 yrs 27 dys.

Nancy W. Moss died Aug. 13, 1865 aged 59 yrs 7 mo 4 dys.

Kate Myers died May 20, 1865, aged 16 yrs 9 dys.

Harriet E. wife of H. M. Myres died Sept. 2, 1858, in 35th year.

Mary M. Myers born Apr. 2, 1783 in Adams Co. Pa. died——

H. W. Oliver born Oct. 22, 1819, died Apr. 19, 1855.

Joseph Parks, born Oct. 12, 1832, died Dec. 1, 1847.

Mary wife of James Peavler born Dec. 5, 1805, died Mch. 25, 1880.

Nicholaus Pepper died Mch. 8, 1873, aged 50 yrs.

Ellen Peyton died Mch. 8, 1847, aged 47 yrs.

Nancy Peyton wife of Saml. H. Peyton, born Spt. 6, 1771, Apr. 17, 1842.

Wm. R. Piper born July 3, 1822, died Mch. 19, 1852.

Frances Pope born May 25, 1777, died May 25, 1850.

Henry L. Pope born Nov. 11, 1795, died Aug. 9, 1862.

Sarah Taylor wife of Henry L. Pope born Oct. 31, 1797, died July 15, 1849.

G. T. Powell died Sept. 30, 1841, aged 21 years.

Frances Prowd died 1842 aged 52 years.

Susan Pryor died June 22, 1870, aged about 65 years.

Nimrod Rector born Nov. 31, 1799, died May 22, 1846.

Martha wife of James Redd born Apr. 11, 1846, died Feb. 3, 1899.

Giles N. Richerson born Nov. 17, 1816, died Jan 2, 1844.

Susan G. wife of Dr. Z. Robards born Nov. 7, 1812, died Jan. 2, 1843.

John M. Robards, son of above, born Jan 1 died Jan 14, 1843.

Robert Robinson died June 8, 1859, aged 34 yrs 2 mo 16 dys.

Sarah E. Rockwell wife of F. Rockwell, died Feb. 5, 1852, aged 36 years.

Catherine W. daughter of H| L. & C. G. Rose, died Feb. 25, 1878, aged 17 yrs 8 mo 28 dys.

Lewis Rose died Nov. 8, 1852 aged 65 yrs, 8 mos. 4 dys.

Martha L. Rose died Oct. 27, 1856, aged 63 yrs 2 mo 29 dys.

Anna Schaumburg geb. Bieringer Sept. 9, 1864, gest. Mch. 27, 1889.

Chas. F. W. Schierholz a native of Prussia, died July 27, 1891, aged 68 years.

Julius Schmidt died Oct. 21, 1867, aged 67 yrs 11 dys.

Wm. H. Seat died Apr. 27, 1880, aged 56 yrs, 4 mo 4 dys

James Shipley Co E 62d U. S. C. T. (no date)

John Sites born Sept. 3, 1784, died Feb. 19, 1853.

Martha wife of John Sites died June 8, 1848, in the 47th year of her age.

Wm. L. Sieber born Jan. 17, 1841 died Feb. 5 184[3].

Eliza W. daughter of Thos. K. & Mary A. Smith died Sept 21, 1841 aged 14 mo.

Malinda Smith born June 18, 1859, died Nov. 22, 1897.

Mary E. Smith died Oct. 20, 1900 aged 53 yrs 2 mo.

Elizabeth wife of L. Stegner died Oct 12 1865, aged 58 years.

Gottlieb Stegner died May 6, 1863, aged 21 yrs 1 mo 1 d.

Lorenz Stegner died Sept 18, 1866, aged 66 yrs.

Mary wife of Paul Stegner born May 3, 1810, in Frohnbach, Herrzogthum, Sachsen Coburg, died Feb. 25, 1857.

Henry West Taylor born July 4, 1811, in Dover, Delaware, died Sept. 25, 1849.

Richard Taylor, Jr., son of Richard & Mary Taylor born 1854, died May 21, 1887, aged 33 yrs, 9 mo.

Bettie wife of John Thomas died Mch. 6, 1885, aged 19 yrs 5 mo 14 dys.

Casper Thro died July 27, 1846,, aged 45 yrs.

Frances Tomlinson died Jan. 28, 1868, in her 82 year.

James Trotter died May 10, 1870, aged 22 yrs 4 mo 21 dys.

Mariam wife of Cornelius Trout died Sept. 28, 1878 aged 36 yrs.

Richard Tuchley died Aug. 21, 1859, aged 33 yrs 4 mo 5 dys. A native of England.

Keren Håppuch wife of Z. P. Vandaver died July 19, 1845 aged 23 yrs.

Laura Ellen Vandaver daughter of above died Mch. 19, aged 1 yr 7 mo 2 dys.

Jacob Vollrath born in Fronbach, Herrzogthum, Sachsen, died Nov. 14, 1851, aged 39 yrs 10 mo 21 dys.

Wm. F. son of W. H. & S. White died May 21, 1861, aged 18 yrs 6 mo.

Hattie wife of Jackson Williams born July 23, 1867, died May 13, 1899.

Lucy Williams died Mch. 9, 1888, aged 45 yrs.

Maggie wife of James Williams born May 19, 1858 died June 14, 1903.

"Willie" a little stranger, died Sept. 24, 1856.

Maria Wildbret geb Triibe gest. Feb. 1, 1865 48 yrs 2 mo 4 dys.

Andrew Wilson born Apr. 15, 1805, died Sept. 1, 1845.

Ann M. Wilson born Oct. 24, 1830, died May 8, 1850.

Elisha Brown son of Barton S. and Mary Wilson died June 22, 1856 aged 10 mo. 18 dys.

John C. Wilson died Oct. 20, 1848, aged 61 yrs 8 mo 16 dys.

Lewis Wilson died Jan. 26, 1846, aged 4 mos 23 dys.

Mack Henry Wilson born Nov. 27, 1866, died July 17, 1908.

Mary Brown wife of Barton S. Wilson died Aug. 18, 1858, in 44th year.

Wm. H. Wilson died June 12, 1847, aged 16 yrs 7 mo 12 dys.

Grace Windsor died Apr. 2, 1882, aged 48 yrs.

Catharine A. Wright born Sept. 7, 1831, in New York, died Nov. 12, 1854.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

Among the late donations to the Society are the following:

From Mrs. Mary Josephine Taylor, widow of Francis M. Taylor, Macon, Mo., the files of various newspapers of which her husband was editor, from 1855 to 1876, except nine years which had been destroyed. The files cover a period of time very much sought after by the Society.

From S. P. Stowers, Millersburg, a spinning wheel and the large reeling wheel, both interesting relics of early days. Also thru the same, from Hugh Marshall, of Millersburg, a flax hackle, an implement that the young people of the present day have never seen in operation.

From Mrs. R. B. Price, of Columbia, a broadside copy of the Message of Gov. McNair to the Second General Assembly of Missouri, dated Nov. 5, 1822.

From the Commission of Archives of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal church the first volume of the Archives, being the correspondence of Bishop Hobart from 1757 to 1797. The work is privately printed and is presented by Samuel Hark and J. Pierpont Morgan.

From Prof. H. M. Belden volume one of Memoirs of Exploration in the basin of the Mississippi, on Quivera, by J. V. Brower, the archaeologist who has published a number of works on the archaeology of the Northwest. The Memoirs is a quarto volume of 98 pages and many plates, illustrating the localities at or near the supposed Quivera in Kansas, and the flint implements found at them. The copy received is No. 67 of 300 published.

Of individuals, church organizations, colleges, societies and others there were in July 41 donors; in August 22 and in September 34, the books and pamphlets received from them numbering 22 bound volumes and 456 unbound. During the same time there has been received of official publications of Missouri by law 18 bound and 621 unbound.

From Missouri authors:

Arthur E. Stilwell, of Kansas City, President of the Port Arthur railroad, his two books, "Universal Peace—War is Mesmerism," a numbered autograph copy, and "Confidence, or National Suicide?"

William Schuyler, of St. Louis, autograph copies of two of his works, "Under Pontius Pilate," and "Monna Lisa," the latter under the pseudonym of Guglielmo Scala. This book was published just at the time of the disappearance and reported robbery of the great painting of Leonardo da Vinci, the Mona Lisa.

J. R. Stafford, Tarkio, his "When Cattle Kingdom Fell."

E. Frank Stephenson, St. Louis, his "Evolution, and the Cost of the Human."

Judge W. B. Napton, Marshall, his "History of Saline County."

Edw. J. White, Kansas City, his "Commentaries on the law in Shakespeare."

Rev. James C. Creel, Plattsburg, Mo., his "The Plea to restore the apostolic church."

Edward Ruben, St. Louis, "Alvira, a Story of the War of 1812." Central Literary Publishing Co., St. Louis.

NOTES.

Among the official publications of the states, the report of the Commissioner of Fisheries and Game for 1909-1910 of Indiana deserves special notice. It is a volume of 520 pages with many illustrations, and with colored plates of nearly all the birds that inhabit Indiana. It is a pleasure to examine the book.

Another Indiana publication that is distributed as a State document is the History of the Third Indiana Cavalry during the Civil war. It is a book of 201 pages with a number of portrait plates.

The legislature of the State appointed a Vicksburg Military Park Commission, and the report of that Commission makes a volume of 476 pages, giving full account of the Indiana regiments which took part in the campaign about Vicksburg, and of the tablets erected to those regiments in the National park. Similar reports have been issued by the State about Chicamauga, Shiloh and Antietam.

Hon. George A. Mahan, of Hannibal, a member of this Society, and his wife, Mrs. Ida D. Mahan, have purchased the boyhood home of Mark Twain, to present it to the city of Hannibal. It was built by Mark Twain's father, John M. Clemens, in 1839. Mr. Mahan holds that "Mark Twain's life teaches that poverty is rather an incentive than a bar, and that a boy, however humble his birth and surroundings, may, by honesty and industry, accomplish great things. This is one of the reasons why his modest boyhood home should be preserved."

The Kansas State Historical Society has sent out invitations to be present at the laying of the corner stone of a memorial and historical building, such as this Society tried to get for its use three or four years ago. The ceremonies took place at Topeka, September 27, President Taft, assisted by the Grand Army of the Republic taking part. Wisconsin, Iowa,

Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota and other states are providing for their historical societies, and the Society in Missouri has as valuable collections to be preserved as some of these have.

Among the Missouri periodicals is a notable one called "La Evangelio de Jusuo Kristo," published in Esperanto at Miller, Missouri, by Elmer Nicholas, and of which seven monthly numbers have been received. It is an indication of the increasing use of that international language.

Nicholas Aleshi, of Kansas City, a member of this Society, is an enthusiastic promoter of his new spelling of the English language, or what he calls the "Virtuana Lengueje." He has issued a calendar, having on the back an account of the "Internashinal Balloon Rases," and also "Brief Informashin of the Virtuana Sistem." This is a much more radical change of spelling than that advocated by Roosevelt and other reformed spellers.

Historical Society Director.

County Attorney Redmond S. Cole, has just been elected to a place on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, with headquarters at Oklahoma City. While a student at the University of Missouri, Mr. Cole made an enviable record as a student of history and because of his excellent work in that department and in economics he was awarded a fellowship in the last named subject. He was one of the first members of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and was recently elected to life membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Cole has perhaps the largest collection of works on Oklahoma subjects and pertaining to Oklahoma of any man in Pawnee county.—Pawnee (Okla.) Courier-Dispatch, June 15, 1911.

We congratulate the Oklahoma Society in getting Mr. Cole as a worker in that Society, as we know from experience that he an active one.

BOOK NOTICES.

Tarr and McMurray's New Geographies.

Missouri. By **Joseph Doliver Elliff.** New York. The MacMillan Company, 1911.

Prof. Elliff of the University of Missouri prepared the Missouri part of the above geographies. It makes a double column publication of 39 pages, with appropriate maps and illustrations, and description of the location, topography, climate, soil, mineral resources and other matters of interest relating to the State.

Past and present of Saline County, Missouri, by **Hon. William Barclay Napton.** B. F. Bowen, Indianapolis and Chicago, 1910.

The most of the large county histories are written by a corps of workers sent to the county to collect and write in a hurry the history of the county. This work is different from such publications, in that the historical part of it was prepared by Judge Napton, an old resident of the county, and one well competent to write its history. This part of the well printed and bound quarto work takes up 379 pages, in which all phases of the history of the county are presented in a pleasing manner. This is followed by the biographical sketches which seem to be a necessary part of the county histories, they being the means of securing the funds for the preparation and publication of such works. There are more than 550 pages of this part of the work. It at least gives correct dates of events, and will for all time be a useful part of the county history. The Society is under obligation to Judge Napton for a fine copy of the work.

Alvira a story of the war of 1812 by **Edward Ruben.** Illustrations by F. Humphrey Woolrych. Central Literary Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1911.

The author of this story has been a resident of St. Louis the most of the time for the last fifty-five years. The story opens at St. Augustine, Florida, just before the breaking out of the war of 1812, and is continued from that place to Mobile and New Orleans, uniting the actions of the characters with the war contests with the Indians and the British, and connecting Gen. Jackson with the thread of the story. The book can be obtained from the publisher, 3016 McNair avenue, St. Louis, for \$1.35 net.

Evolution, and the cost of the human. An address giving a sketch of the development of the earth from chaos to yesterday. By **E. Frank Stephenson**, St. Louis, c. 1911.

The author first gave talks to the employes of a saw-mill company in Mississippi when they were gathered around the evening fire; then he prepared more formally to deliver before the Civic League of New Orleans; and now he has put it in print in a book of 90 pages. It gives his idea of the power of evolution from the time when the whole solar system was a gas only, and the changes it has gone thru to the present time.

Universal Peace—War is Mesmerism. By **Arthur Edward Stilwell**. New York and London, 1911, 179 p. port.

The Society is under obligations to the author for a signed copy of Number 208 of six hundred copies published.

The book is an earnest appeal for the substitution of Christian brotherhood for armies. The suggestion of a partnership of the United States and Mexico to preserve peace in the Central American countries is a good one provided Mexico settles down to a stable government of her own.

Confidence, or National Suicide? By **Arthur Edward Stilwell**. Sixth edition. New York, 1911.

Mr. Stilwell is the President of an important line of railroad, but he is also a writer, and one who knows how to make his subject interesting. This is shown by the fact that the book is in its sixth edition. The book is made up of short articles on various problems that are confronting the people

of the country, and of other matters that are related to and influence the investment markets of the country. The book is an interesting statement of the railroads' side in the case of the People vs. the Corporations, and is an honest presentation of facts from the railroad viewpoint.

When Cattle Kingdom Fell. By J. R. Stafford. New York, B. W. Dodge & Co., 1910. 374 p.

This is the story of contest between the cattle men and the settlers in Texas—the cattle men trying to preserve large tracts of the pasturage of immense herds of cattle, and the settlers fencing up the land into farms. The adventures of John Burns the manager of Double K ranch, who was in favor of giving to settlers their legal rights, of Nell March, daughter of the owner of the ranch, of Warwick the leader of the cattle interests, are given in an interesting manner, ending in the success of the settlers and the breaking up of the cattle ranges, and incidentally the happy termination of the love affairs of Burns and of Miss Nell.

St. Louis Public Library Annual Report for 1910-11, is a publication of 100 pages, and of 18 plates. It is full of interesting facts about this library of about 339,000 volumes.

Report of the Committee of Judicial Administration and Legal Procedure to the Missouri Bar Association, Sept., 1911.

This report points out the great need of reform in the procedure of our courts, and the fact that we are now entirely out of accord with modern civilization. It is to be hoped that the report will lead to actual reform.

Wayside Musings. A little volume of verse by Charles Newton Wood. Kirksville, Mo., 1911.

The Society's collection of books of poetry by Missouri authors is a large one, and this volume of fifty-three pages and portrait is the latest addition to it.

NECROLOGY.

HON. SAMUEL J. GEORGE, of Humansville, Polk county, Missouri, died May 24, 1911. He was born on a farm in the same county in 1848. He was elected on the Republican ticket to the House of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly, 1887, and re-elected to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth sessions.

HON. THOMAS HODGE JONES was elected to the Twenty-fifth General Assembly, 1869, from Laclede county, and to the Thirty-fifth General Assembly, 1889, from Stone county. He was born in Johnson county, Illinois, October 18, 1840, and came to Laclede county, Missouri, when nine years old. He was a union soldier in the Civil war. He died at Springfield, Missouri, April 24, 1911.

DR. PAUL SCHWEITZER was born in Berlin, March 16, 1840, and educated in the Koenigliche Gymnasium there. He was connected with several educational institutions in this country before coming to the University of Missouri in 1872, where he was professor of chemistry, and from 1887 to 1906 was also chemist of the Agricultural experiment station. He retired last year on a Carnegie pension. In several cases he has conducted examinations for the state in suspected poison cases, the last being the Vaughn case, but his health would not allow him to attend the trial and the prosecution was dropped.

Dr. Schweitzer published among others the following papers: "Contributions from the Laboratory of the State University," 1875; the same, 1876; "Statistics of the Production of Wheat, etc." 1881; "A plea for a Separate chemical laboratory building at the State University," 1891; "Butter and butter substitutes," 1900; and with Prof. C. W. Marx, "The heating value and proximate analysis of Missouri coal," 1901. He also prepared the volume III of the Missouri

Geological Survey under Winslow, on "A report on the Mineral waters of Missouri," 1892. Other papers were published in journals and Society proceedings.

MAJOR CHAS. H. VANDIVER was born in Hampshire county, Virginia, now West Virginia, May 1, 1840. From 1861 to 1864 he was in the Confederate army, serving as a lieutenant under Stonewall Jackson, and losing an arm. In the Thirty-first General Assembly of Missouri he was a member of the Senate from the Seventeenth district, composed of Cass, Johnson and Lafayette counties. He died at Higginsville, September 7, 1911.

GEN. JOSEPH A. WICKHAM appointed Adjutant General in 1889 by Governor Francis and re-appointed by Gov. Stone, holding the office for eight years, during which strikes and other matters made the work important and difficult, died at his home three miles north of Kennett, September 9, 1911. He was born in Michigan, November 14, 1844, and when a boy came to Chariton county. During the Civil war he was a member of the 68th Ohio Infantry Volunteers, and after the war again returned to Chariton county, later to Ray, and after to Daviess, where he was three times treasurer, and four times mayor of Gallatin. Being attracted to Southeast Missouri by hunting and fishing trips, he finally bought a farm on which he resided till his death.

DR. ALFRED W. MITCHELL representative in the General Assembly from Polk County in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth General Assemblies died suddenly at his home in Eamansville, October 4, 1911. He was born at Beverley, New Jersey, March 10, 1856. In 1877 he graduated from the St. Louis Medical College, and located in Polk County in 1879. He was elected to the legislature on the Republican ticket.



MISSOURI

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THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF MISSOURI

I. Origin and special features. (1)

The purpose of this paper is to give an account of the origin of the constitution of Missouri of 1820 by comparing its "Preamble" and thirteen articles with similar provisions of the then existing state constitutions and to set forth those special features that are exceptional in character. Preceding the main body of this paper will be several introductory pages giving a general historical account of, first, the passage of the Enabling Act of Congress, usually known as The First Missouri Compromise, whereby, among other provisions, permission was given to Missouri to call a constitutional convention, second, the convening of such convention, its composition and work other than the detailed drawing up of the constitution, and third, the action taken by the National Government on this constitution, resulting in the Second Missouri Compromise and the execution of the same.

The first petitions from Missouri Territory praying for admission into the Union were those of 1817-1818. They came

1. This paper is based on a much more detailed thesis submitted to the University of Missouri in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, and contains merely a summary of the results of that investigation.

from the inhabitants of that district acting purely in their capacity as inhabitants. (2) These petitions were followed by one from the Missouri Territorial Legislature of 1818-1819 which really started the Missouri question in Congress. The Fifteenth Congress expired before any final action was taken; the reason being the determination of the House to place an anti-slavery restriction on Missouri through what is known as the Talmadge Amendment, and the equally firm resolution of the Senate not to permit this. On the assembling of the Sixteenth Congress in December, 1819, the Missouri statehood bill was almost immediately the important issue. At this time the Maine statehood bill was also before Congress. The Senate at once connected the latter bill, which had just come from the House, with the Missouri bill, and then amended the Missouri bill with the famous Thomas Amendment, i. e. prohibiting slavery in all Louisiana Territory north of 36-30 except in the proposed state of Missouri. This arrangement being refused by the House a joint committee of both houses met and decided to let the Maine bill and the Missouri bill, the Thomas Amendment being attached to the latter, pass as separate bills. This First Missouri Compromise was agreed to by Congress and on March 6th, 1820, the President of the United States signed the Missouri bill, which authorized "the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government."

By authority and in pursuance of this act forty-one representatives to a state convention were elected from the fifteen counties in Missouri on the first Monday and the two succeeding days of May, 1820. The spirit which Congress had exhibited on the Missouri question regarding slavery had so incensed the inhabitants of this state that only strong pro-slavery men were elected. All the delegates were natives of

2. The original of one of these petitions of 1817, signed by sixty-nine inhabitants of Missouri Territory, some of which were later delegates to the Missouri constitutional convention of 1820, is to be found in the vaults of the State Historical Society of Missouri. It is a very interesting document as regards the boundaries set forth for the new state, reasons assigned for a change of government, and the men signing same.

slave holding states except five, and one of these was a native of Ireland and another of Wales. (3) On June 12th, 1820, these representatives assembled in St. Louis, which was then the seat of government. They at once proceeded to the election of officers and the appointment of committees. (4) The character of the personnel of this convention was high. It was a body representative of the best in Missouri. Some of its members became Missouri's state and national senators and representatives. David Barton was the President of this First Constitutional Convention of Missouri and was later Missouri's first United States Senator. It is quite noteworthy that this general favorite from St. Louis county was elected to both of these high offices without encountering any opposition in either case. The convention sat from June 12th to July 19th. The journal that was kept contains but forty-eight pages and covers the ground in only the most meager manner. No debates were recorded. The bare outline of business transacted, of committees appointed and reporting, and sometimes of the vote taken on measures were set forth in this pamphlet. The main work was of course the framing of a constitution which was largely the work of David Barton. This being done a vote was taken on its adoption and only one was recorded against it. This constitution was never submitted to a popular vote. According to the provisions of it a general election was held the fourth Monday in August. On the third Monday in September the state government went into working order even though Missouri was not formally admitted into the Union for almost a year after the latter date.

In November, 1820, the Missouri Constitution was presented to both houses of Congress. The opposition that developed to this instrument centered on that part of section 26 of article III of same which made it imperative on the Missouri legislature to pass a law preventing free negroes and mulattoes from settling in Missouri. After a long and bitter contest extending to the close of that session Congress finally accepted

3. Houck: History of Missouri, III, p. 249.

4. The names of these representatives can be found at the end of this paper.

a resolution admitting Missouri on a certain condition. This was the famous Second Missouri Compromise and was approved by the President March 2nd, 1821. The legislature of Missouri complied with this condition by passing a "Solemn Public Act" which was approved by the Governor June 26th of that year. On the 10th of August, 1821, President Monroe issued a proclamation declaring the admission of Missouri into the Union. (5)

It is now the purpose to summarize very briefly the influence exerted by other constitutions on the framing of the several articles of this one and to set forth any features in this document that are worthy of special notice. In trying to accomplish the first one can rarely be absolutely certain of his ground on account of several things: 1st, verbatim copies in this constitution of sections in other constitutions are the exception; 2nd, even when they do occur they are sometimes the common property of several states; 3rd, most of the sections in this constitution, although similar to sections in other constitutions, are rarely confined to any one state but appear here and there throughout the Union and are frequently found in a majority of state constitutions. Because of this, it is extremely hazardous to say unqualifiedly that this or that state constitution was the source of a certain provision in the Missouri constitution, at least one might thereby sacrifice truth for the sake of definiteness.

The "Preamble" appears to have been copied from Kentucky's constitution; however, the constitutions of South

5. The foregoing proceedings have been succinctly summarized by Professor Jonas Viles of the University of Missouri, in his paper, "The Story of the State." "Missouri was to be admitted under her constitution, when she pledged herself by a solemn public act, never to construe certain specified clauses of it so as to authorize any law abridging the rights of citizens of any other state. Missouri, with her state government fully organized, her Senators and Representatives in Washington waiting for recognition, resented this seemingly treacherous delay of Congress. But the Legislature passed a resolution, which Monroe recognized as fulfilling the condition, and Missouri entered the Union. And, curiously enough, the articles of the constitution, enumerated in the act of Congress and the resolution of the Legislature, can not by any human ingenuity be identified with the clauses excluding free negroes." (State of Missouri, p. 20.)

Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia contain a similar one.

Article I, on "Boundaries," is a verbatim copy of the "Enabling Act" of Congress.

The wording of article II, on the "Distribution of Powers," seems to have been taken from the Kentucky and Illinois instruments. However, a similarly worded provision is found in the constitutions of Alabama, Georgia, Indiana and Mississippi.

In considering article III with its thirty-six sections, on the "Legislative Powers," a number of state constitutions seem to have been consulted by the convention. Undoubtedly the constitutions of Kentucky and Illinois exerted the greatest influence. Besides these, the constitutions of Alabama, Indiana, Delaware, Connecticut, Ohio and perhaps Maryland, Maine, Tennessee and the United States and others were more or less influential. Quite a number of provisions was inserted in this article that were followed by very few states. The following are the most worthy of notice. A two year term for state representatives obtained in only four states; (6) in the constitutions of only two states was to be found an express statement guaranteeing to each county at least one representative; an age qualification of twenty-four years for the same was present in only two states—the other states placing it at twenty-one or making no mention of it. In only two states was a age qualification of thirty years provided for states senators. Biennial state elections were provided for in only four states. A corrupt practice act was here provided for that was equaled in worth in only two states. A provision empowering the legislature to punish by "fine or imprisonment" those (not members) for contempt of authority of the house obtained in no other state constitution. No other state constitution gave so much protection to the rights of the slave as this one although at the same time no other state made it mandatory on the legislature to prohibit free negroes from coming into the state. Only five other state constitutions

6. Two attempts were made in the convention to change the term to one year but both were negatived by large votes.

directed the legislature to make laws regulating the manner whereby suits might be brought against the state. In only two other state constitutions were biennial sessions of the legislature provided for, the others having annual sessions. Finally, only one other state constitution provided for a revision of the state's laws at regular intervals of time.

In reviewing article IV, on the "Executive Department," it seems that the states whose constitutions apparently influenced its framing the most fall into four classes: 1st, Kentucky and Illinois, of which the former state exerted the greater influence; 2nd, Mississippi, Indiana, Alabama and Louisiana, whose influence although not nearly so great as that exerted by Kentucky and Illinois is still very clearly seen; 3rd, Connecticut, Ohio, Tennessee, Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia, which seem to have furnished the pattern for several individual sections; 4th, Maryland, Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, whose constitutions contained provisions that were quite similar to scattered clauses in the Missouri constitution. Quite a large number, in fact the majority of the twenty-one sections in this article, are very like provisions to be found in a large number of other state instruments but there are some points set forth that were followed by very few states and in some cases were distinct repartures from any constitutional provision. It might be of interest to note some of these more or less exceptional statements incorporated into this article.

Only two state constitutions required the chief executive i. e., the Governor, to be thirty-five years old and only three states made the citizenship qualification of the Governor so high. Again, in only three states was the term of the governor so long as in Missouri, i. e., four years. With the single exception of Kentucky, Missouri was alone at this time in allowing the governor by constitutional provision ten days in which to pass on bills, the remaining states either placing a shorter time limit or making no mention of this. An officer called an "Auditor" was provided for in only three other state constitutions and in no other state was his term four

years nor was his tenure appointive by the governor and the senate—being usually left to the legislature. In no other state constitution was there so liberal a provision for the salary of the governor, no state setting forth the minimum amount he should receive and one state had a maximum amount that was less than two-fifths of Missouri's minimum. Only two states provided for a four-year term for the lieutenant-governor and only one of these required him to be thirty-five years old. At this time no other state constitution goes so far as Missouri's in providing for the succession in case of temporary vacancy in the office of governor and only two states had such a detailed provision on the election of a governor to fill the vacancy occurring during the unexpired term of the regular incumbent. With perhaps one or two exceptions, those provisions of the Missouri constitution which were original marked a distinct improvement over the other state constitutions of that day.

In the framing of article V, on the "Judiciary," the convention was far more disposed to follow the provisions in other constitutions than was the case in either the article on the legislature or the one on the executive. This was entirely natural, for of all our departments of government that of the judiciary of the several states was the last to succumb to the leveling spirit of the new democracy. The peculiar conservatism that has for centuries attached itself in English speaking countries to the law interpreting department of the state, the high regard in which it has been held, and the peculiar sanctity of stability which has surrounded both "Bench and Bar" and which has enabled them to follow precedent and custom instead of being subject to irregular and spasmodic changes, are easily perceived by anyone who has traced in even an elementary way the institutional growth of English and American history.

Those states that seem to have been the most influential in guiding the convention in the framing of this article can be conveniently divided into three classes: 1st, Alabama, whose constitution was most nearly identical with Missouri's;

2nd, Kentucky, Mississippi, Illinois, Delaware, Indiana and Louisiana, whose constitutions were quite similar in many provisions with the sections in Missouri's constitution; 3rd, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Maine and Connecticut, whose influence though slight can not be eliminated from consideration. It is easily seen that the constitutions of the southern states exerted the greatest force.

As was previously mentioned, this article reveals very few departures from what can be found in other state instruments. The following points are the most important: 1st, only one other state constitution provided for a minimum salary for the judges of the higher courts (however, one state constitution mentioned what the salary should be); 2nd, no other state constitution provided for a minimum age qualification for the judges and only five states had a maximum age qualification.

In considering articles VI to XII inclusive, on "Education," "Internal Improvements," "Banks," "Militia," "Miscellaneous Provisions," "Seat of Government," and "Mode of Amendment," the briefness of each article ranging from one to four sections does not necessitate a detailed review here. The constitutions of Alabama and Indiana seem to have exerted the greatest influence in the framing of articles VI-VIII inclusive. The articles on the "Militia," article IX, was similar to provisions to be found in the constitutions of Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Tennessee. Article X bore a slight resemblance to the constitution of Tennessee alone. In no other state constitution is there to be found a provision similar to article XI, on the "Seat of Government." As regards article XII, on "Mode of Amendment," the constitution of Missouri seems to have approached most nearly to the constitutions of Georgia and South Carolina. The greatest diversity existed among the states on this point. It is worthy of mention that only one state constitution at this time provided an easier method of amendment, i. e., where an amending clause can be found. This was the state of Maryland.

The last article in the Missouri constitution of 1820, article

XIII, on the "Declaration of Rights," is so uniformly similar to the corresponding provisions in many other state constitutions that a very short summary will perhaps be quite sufficient. Although the different state instruments vary greatly as regards the detailed provisions relating to individual rights set forth and protected by prohibitions placed on the ordinary government, still, there was the same general spirit permeating practically every one. Few changes can be noticed in this field as incorporated in this constitution compared with other state constitutions. No other state constitution, however, expressly provided for the discharging of a jury in criminal cases when such jury was divided in opinion on a case at the end of the term of court. Another feature in this instrument was that only three state constitutions besides it, expressly provided that property was to be taxed in proportion to its value. It would be difficult to say which state constitution were the most influential on this article, perhaps those of Kentucky, Alabama, Illinois and Mississippi might be given. It would be more correct to say that the united influence of all the states' "Bills of Rights" was felt and recorded in this document.

In this brief study of the Missouri constitution of 1820 several points stand out quite clearly: 1st, this constitution was fundamental as compared with the majority of later state instruments in setting forth in brief terms the organization and functions of the state government; 2d, its provisions differed in comparatively few respects from those to be found in some of the then existing state constitutions; 3rd, it belonged to the later southern types of constitutions of that date; 4th, being neither radical nor retrogressive its tone was rather conservative subject to progressive sections incorporated here and there.

In the framing of these articles it appears as though one or two state constitutions were very largely the patterns followed while as regards other parts of the constitution the sections seem to have been selected from first one and then another state's organic law. Naturally the very character of the inhabi-

tants of Missouri and especially of the representatives to the convention predisposed them to follow the southern types of constitutions, principally those of Kentucky and Alabama in preference to those of the north, but this did not seemingly in the least hinder the convention from favoring and choosing a section from the constitution of Maine, Delaware, Connecticut or Pennsylvania or from Ohio and Indiana, and throughout the entire document can be seen the great influence exerted by the constitution of Illinois. In fact it appears that with the exception of Kentucky, the latest framed constitutions, e. g., Alabama, Illinois, etc., were more influential than the others. It seems that the framers of the constitution strove conscientiously to incorporate therein those provisions, from whatever source they came, that were the best fitted for guiding this state in her development. (7) It speaks well for the convention that its work stood the test of nearly half a century and then was displaced by an instrument whose adoption was based on reasons other than merit, however great the latter was in itself.

In the next paper on Missouri's First Constitution it will be the purpose to outline briefly the framework of government provided for in that instrument and incidentally to give a sketch of such articles or sections as are noteworthy in some one or other particular.

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER. (8)

NAMES OF THE FRAMERS OF MISSOURI'S CONSTITUTION OF 1820.

David Barton, President of the convention and Representative from the County of St. Louis. Born in Tennessee (then

7. It is to be regretted that so little and in some cases no information can be obtained bearing on the lives of some of the framers of this constitution.

8. Editor's Note.—Floyd C. Shoemaker is a graduate of the Kirksville State Normal School in 1906 and of the University of Missouri in 1909. From 1909 to 1911 he was Assistant in Political Science and graduate student at the University of Missouri, receiving the degree of Master of Arts; in 1910 he was appointed Assistant Librarian of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

a part of South Carolina. William G. Pettus, Secretary of the convention. Born in Virginia.

Name of Representative. County Represented. Place of Birth.

Cape Girardeau.

Stephen Byrd.....Tennessee (?)
 Alexander Buckner Kentucky
 James Evans Kentucky (?)
 Joseph McFerron Ireland
 Richard S. Thomas Virginia

Cooper.

Robert P. Clark Kentucky
 William Lillard Virginia
 Robert Wallace

Franklin.

John C. Heath.....

Howard.

Nicholas S. Burckhardt Maryland
 Jonathan Smith Findlay.....District of Columbia
 Duff Green Kentucky
 Benjamin H. ReevesKentucky
 John Ray

Jefferson.

S. Hammond Virginia

Lincoln.

Malcolm Henry South Carolina

Montgomery.

Jonathan Ramsay Tennessee
 James Talbot

Madison.

Nathanial Cook Kentucky

New Madrid.

Robert D. Dawson Maryland
 Christo. G. Houts

Pike.

Stephen Cleaver

Name of Representative. County Represented. Place of Birth.

St. Charles.

Hiram H. Baber Kentucky
 Nathan Boone Kentucky
 Benjamin Emmons New York

Ste. Genevieve.

R. T. Brown
 John D. Cook Virginia
 H. Dodge
 John Scott Virginia

St. Louis.

Edw. Bates Virginia
 David Barton Tennessee
 Pr. Chouteau, jun. Missouri
 A. M'Nair Pennsylvania
 Bernd. Pratte Missouri
 Wm. Rector Virginia
 Thos. F. Riddick Virginia
 John C. Sullivan Kentucky (?)

Washington.

John Rice Jones Wales
 Samuel Perry Pennsylvania
 John Hutchings

Wayne.

Elijah Bettis North Carolina

TABLE AND DATE OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS
 EXISTING IN 1820.

State.	Date of Adoption.
Alabama.....	1819
Connecticut.....	1818
Delaware.....	1792
Georgia.....	1798
Illinois.....	1818
Indiana.....	1816
Kentucky....	1799

State.	Date of Adoption.
Louisiana.....	1812
Maine.....	1820
Maryland.....	1776
Massachusetts.....	1780
Mississippi.....	1817
Missouri.....	1820
New Hampshire.....	1792
New Jersey.....	1776
New York.....	1777
North Carolina.....	1776
Ohio.....	1802
Pennsylvania.....	1790
Rhode Island.....	1663 (charter.)
South Carolina.....	1790
Tennessee.....	1796
Vermont.....	1793
Virginia.....	1776

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By F. A. SAMPSON.

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“BATTLE OF OSAWATOMIE.”

The Secretary asked Col. J. F. Snyder, of Virginia, Ill., to write for the Society his recollection of the engagement at Osawatomie, and the following was written under date of August 30, 1910. Col. Snyder has consented to the publication of the letter:

“I have hesitated about writing any recollections of the “battle” of Osawatomie, in which I participated, 54 years ago today, for the reason that failing memory, and absence of data to refresh my senile memory, would impair the interest—and perhaps reliability—of my reminiscences. In the published accounts of the anniversary celebration at Osawatomie, I am surprised to see it stated that only three survivors of that engagement are now known. I, then, am the fourth, but there surely must be yet living several others; for our force of “Border Ruffians” was mainly composed of young men, as myself.

Seven of us young fellows from Polk County, Mo., well mounted and well armed, had responded to a border appeal for help to resist the raids into Missouri of Montgomery and his thieving band; and were at Pappinville when a courier informed us of the contemplated counter raid into Kansas by a lot of Missourians from Jackson county. We immediately left Pappinville to join those patriots. Following up the old military road, on the state line, we camped that night at a fine farm, on state line, in the northwestern corner of Bates county, I think, belonging to a man named Clymer. The residence was a fine, large two-story brick house, and the large barn, fine stock, and other appurtenances, betokened the proprietor's opulence. Mr. Clymer was not at home, but the ladies of the manor, appreciating our temporary protection, liberally supplied us with provisions for ourselves and horses. Up early next morning we continued our course up the mili-

tary road until we reached the junction with it of the Harrisonville road, and there halted. We had not long to wait, but soon locating the advancing column of General John W. Reid's heroes, we joined them, and I reported to the General ready for service.

Our destination then, as I understood it, was Big Sugar Creek, in Kansas, west of the Old Trading Post, with the object of capturing old Jim Montgomery, or annihilating him and his gang of nigger-stealing cut-throats. That night we all camped on a small branch that ultimately emptied into the Marais des Cygnes on the eastern side. Our horses were staked out on the prairie, with a strong picket guard thrown out around them, and the strictest silence was enjoined on all. The intelligence that armed resistance to our progress had been organized at the mouth of Pottawattomie Creek was a great surprise to us of the rank and file, and, I think, also to our commander. Early in the morning orders were hurriedly passed along among our camps to load our guns, and see that our ammunition was in proper condition, and be prepared at all points for action, and shortly thereafter we were again in marching order.

Never having been back there since, I very much doubt if I could correctly locate the field of conflict. But I remember well that, on the 30th day of August, we marched on— a few of our men dismounted, but the larger part on horseback—to a creek, then nearly dry, a short distance above its junction with the Marais des Cygnes. On the other side of the creek was a line of stone fence, made of the loose prairie rocks abounding there, and piled up about four feet high. When in about a hundred yards of that fence—or breastwork—a line of men suddenly raised up from behind it and fired upon us. We returned the fire, and advanced, but very cautiously. The men behind the stone wall continued firing upon us, but without exposing themselves much, as there were interstices between the stones through which they protruded their guns, and fired with perfect safety to themselves. Their position was such that successful flanking would have required on our part

considerable time and much trouble. For perhaps an hour or more, desultory firing from both sides was kept up with nothing accomplished, and no one hurt—so far as we knew—when General Reid ordered up his artillery, a six-pound gun. With raw, inexperienced gunners some little time transpired before the gun could be brought in proper position and prepared for effective work, but when at length the order to “fire” was given the echos were awakened, and a gap was perceptible in the stone breastwork. Three shots from the cannon were fired in quick succession, and then General Reid ordered, “Charge them, boys!” By the time that part of the mob in which I was posted passed over into the enclosure not an enemy was to be seen. The account of the “battle” of Osawatomie, published today, states that “most of Brown’s men escaped by swimming the Marais des Cygnes river.” The river, in fact, was at a very low stage, a series of pools, some of them deep enough to swim a horse, but in long stretches of the river bed the water was not knee deep.

A few of our men were wounded, but not one killed. I saw one with very bloody face, occasioned by a bullet that plowed a superficial furrow through his scalp; another shot in the arm, and a third with a bullet in the muscles of the shoulder. I personally know nothing of the loss, or the strength of the Brown men. Our mob must have numbered 500, though all were not combatants. The engagement did not last three hours, and to dignify it by the name of “battle” is simply ludicrous.

Having possession of the ground, and finding no enemy to oppose us, we rested awhile on our laurels, cooked and ate our rations, and, the most of us, retraced our way back to Missouri, camping that night on the same ground we had occupied the night before. I did not see the town of Osawatomie, if there was then such a town there. The few houses I saw appeared to be those of pioneer settlers. Why we did not continue our march down to Sugar Creek—after our signal “victory”—I do not know. I am sure we would have willingly done so had General Reid ordered us to march on.

I protest against the term "guerrillas" the newspapers of today apply to us. That we were "Border Ruffians" can not be denied, but we waged open war, invading Kansas to redress intolerable wrongs for which there was no legal remedy. One of my Polk county comrades, visiting the Osawatomie battle ground a few years later, secured one of the stones forming John Brown's breastwork at that time—a large prairie rock, weathered and water-worn, with several perforations, one of which opening was said to have been so placed in the wall as to be utilized as a port hole for a Sharpe's rifle. He sent it to me, a short time before his death—40 years ago—as a souvenir of our excursion into Bleeding Kansas, and I still have it here. I presume the most appropriate disposition I can make of it is to donate it to the Kansas State Historical Society.

I have written this very hurriedly upon reading the newspaper extract I enclose, and, very obviously, it is not written for publication. But though many of the details have faded from my memory, the main incidents of the wretched affair are permanently fixed.

With sincere respect I am yours, etc.,

J. F. SNYDER.

REMINISCENCES OF WM. M. BOGGS, SON OF GOVERNOR LILBURN W. BOGGS.

In 1909 the Secretary wrote to Wm. M. Boggs, of Napa City, California, a son of Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of Missouri, 1836 to 1840, for a sketch of his father's life; this he furnished and it was published in the January number 1910, of the Review. A photograph of the former Governor was also sent to the Society, as were also several other photographs which are much prized. Mr. Boggs wrote interestingly of his recollections of people and events in Missouri, which was his native state. During his father's term of office he was intimately associated with him, and thus knew Col. Thomas H. Benton, Dr. Lynn, United States Senator from Missouri, Marmaduke, afterwards Governor, and who was Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate, when Governor Boggs was a member of it after his term of office as Governor.

From his letters we quote:

"At Jefferson City a short time after he" [Gov. Boggs] "had partially recovered from the attempted assassination by the Mormon emissary, Peter Rockwell, Sterling Price, afterwards General in the Confederate army, was Speaker of the Assembly, the writer accompanied his father to Jefferson City, and remained there till the session was about over. Abraham McClellan was State Treasurer, and Hiram H. Baber Auditor of Public Accounts, Reynolds was Governor. He committed suicide by shooting himself through the head with a rifle shortly after that session.

"I congratulate you on the great prospects of founding a State Historical Society in connection with the State University at Columbia, in Boone county, a county named in honor of my great grandfather, Daniel Boone. My mother used to comb and plait his silver locks in his old age. His descendants are numerous, and I could write a long letter about many of them. Then, too, Columbia was the home of the Carson family;—Kit Carson, was the intimate friend of

my brother, Thomas O. Boggs, and myself. He was here in California in 1846. I knew all the Carson brothers, from the oldest, Moses, Andy, Bob, Christopher and Lindsey, the younger of whom Kit was the most famous; the family lived near Columbia, where my father was well acquainted with them. Moses was living in California when we arrived here in 1846—But I did not intend to go into family history when I commenced to write this letter—I have been in California 63 years, and served in the Mexican war, as a volunteer and non-commissioned officer, on this coast when Fremont was in command of the volunteer forces, and Commodore Stockton was in command of the Navy at this post. And this reminds me, that we are building a monument to Commodore Sloat, who took possession of California in 1846. We have completed the base of the monument at Old Monterey. Major F. A. Sherman is our Secretary. I have the honor to be First Vice President of the Sloat Monument Association.

“I will be 83 years old my next birthday. I was born near Fort Osage, in Jackson county, in October, 1826, and came to California in 1846, with my wife and father’s family.”

“I have five married sons born in California, that have families. The oldest one lives in Salem, Oregon; the one mentioned in this letter lives in Susanville, Lassen county; one lives in Lake county, California, and one in Watsonville, Santa Cruz county; the youngest is general manager for a large oil company at Coalinga in Fresno county; an only daughter and son, Sterling Price, are dead.”

“I herewith send a package of some historical data in pamphlets and printed matter, containing portraits of some of the foremost pioneers of the Pacific Coast, and other data of historical interest, that I found in searching for a portrait of my father, the late L. W. Boggs, ex-Governor of Missouri, for which you wrote me some time ago. I send a good picture of Col. Albert G. Boone, a grandson of Daniel Boone, who was one of my mother’s brothers. I have found a good photo of my father in possession of an only sister, which I will have copied soon and forward to your Society. There is a small

miniature likeness taken of my father while he was Governor of Missouri, that would be more appropriate for your Historical Society than the photo of him taken here in his old age. I will endeavor to secure as good a copy as possible, as my sister does not wish to part with the photograph or the miniature painted on ivory. The photo of my uncle, Albert G. Boone, is one I had copied some years ago, and one of myself taken after I arrived in California. I am having some copies taken of myself and wife who is a descendant of the Finley, who was a pioneer of Kentucky before Boone or Kenton. My wife has been dead about six years. She accompanied me to California in 1846. We were married just before starting, and lived together fifty-six years, had six sons and one daughter—I am a great grandfather, and of eight brothers, am the only one living.”

“I herewith send you a photograph copy of a miniature portrait of my father. The miniature was made by a celebrated artist in Philadelphia while father was Governor, and when he was east on a trip authorized by the legislature in connection with the building of the present state capitol. He was then about 42 or 43 years of age. It is the only portrait made of him while he was Governor. The original is in possession of his youngest and only living daughter, Mrs. Sophia Palmer, of Napa City, California.”

“I am glad to know that some of my rude sketches of old time landmarks are appreciated, as no portion of them exists at the present time. Volumes could be written of scenes and events and the lives of those daring and adventurous men who roamed over the plains and Rockies of the West, and laid out paths for others to follow in after years. Old Fort Bent was the rendezvous of such men as developed the trails that in after years were followed by Fremont in his exploring expeditions, led by one of Boone county’s sons, the intrepid and fearless Kit Carson, whom it was my pleasure to have known from my boyhood, and especially when I was at Fort Bent in 1844, and in California years afterwards, when he and his life long companion in Colorado and New Mexico, were like two broth-

ers—my own brother, Tom Boggs. But their adventurous lives would fill many a page; the pursuit and rescue of white prisoners from roaming savage tribes like the Comanches that waylaid the old Santa Fe trail, and killed and scalped, and captured women and children; some of these incidents occurred in my time. No man knew the life of Kit Carson better than my brother, Tom Boggs. Andy Carson, a brother, at one time engaged in the Santa Fe trade, and started from my father's house at Independence, when I was a six-year-old boy. Moses Carson was in California when our family came in 1846; he was in charge of a cattle ranch, or grant of land, where the town of Healdsburg is now, in Sonoma county. Bob Carson came out in 1849 or 1850. My father informed me that he knew the Carson family in Boone county, that they lived near Columbia. My first meeting with Kit Carson was at Bent's Fort when I was seventeen years of age in 1844, on my return from Santa Fe. Kit and my brother, Thomas, were employed as traders by the Bents company to trade for buffalo robes. The company would furnish them a pack train of mules at the fort, laden with all kinds of Indian goods. One would go to the Arapahoes or Kiowas, and the other, perhaps, to the Cheyenne villages or to the Sioux, and be gone all winter during the season of killing the buffalos for their robes. Many times the war parties of those tribes who took no part in the preparing of robes for the trader, were busy preparing to go on the war path in search of their bitter enemies, the Pawnee, or any other tribe that they caught out trespassing on their hunting grounds. They often returned with the scalps of their enemies. It was during the winter of 1844 that I spent with the Cheyennes that their braves at different times went to war against the Pawnees, a tribe that both Cheyenne and Sioux hated. I kept account of the number of scalps taken by the different small war parties that went out from our village, and the total was eighty-three. The loss of the Cheyennes was three all told. That was my first winter in an Indian village, about eighty miles from the fort. This was William Bent's favorite tribe, and the trade that winter was good in robes.

"But I did not intend to go into any Indian stories at this time. But truth is stranger than fiction, and the mode of life at that time led these men into one event after another, so that they paid no attention to such exciting stories of narrow escapes, or close calls or close fighting, and war dances, and rejoicings of the braves over their victories. Nowadays it would read like novel writing or fiction. Kit Carson and men like him scarcely ever spoke about any of their most daring adventures. He was one of the most modest and retiring men in his manners I ever knew. I had him and my brother Tom with me in San Francisco in early days, when the city was in its infancy, During his stay there we were sitting at a long dining table, and the talk all around the table was of him, but he had made me promise not to give him away. Had I told the crowd that Kit Carson, Fremont's guide and scout on three trips, sat next me all would have sprung up from their seats and rushed up to greet him, but he shunned notoriety. He visited me at Sonoma and taking one of my babies on his knee asked me to name it after him, and said he would give it his fortune. I said, "What will your fortune be, Kit; a mule and a pack saddle and a rifle." He laughed and said he guessed that was about all that Tom and he would be worth when they came to die. Either one of them would divide with a stranger when they found him in want. But enough of this * * * * I also send you the photos of myself and wife, as we were both born in Missouri, I in Jackson county and she in Lafayette. We were married near Pleasant Hill. Her maiden name was Louisa Hicklin, eldest daughter of John Hicklin. She was a descendant of the Finleys, on her mother's side; her grandmother was a Finley, born in Virginia. Her father was a Tennessean by birth, but lived in Missouri nearly all his life. Our daughter for years had charge of the public library of Napa City, and was an accomplished artist. She died December 5, 1907, from a stroke of apoplexy. Her mother died March 5, 1902, aged 75 years, 2 months, and 28 days."

NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE.

ACCOUNT OF COL. JOHN SHAW.

The "Personal Narrative of Col. John Shaw, of Marquette county, Wisconsin," contained in the second annual report and collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the year 1855, gives an account of the New Madrid earthquake of 1811 and 1812.

As might be expected the accounts of the earthquake by persons who were in that region of country at the time are not numerous, and as this statement of Col. Shaw's is not accessible to many, it is here reprinted:

"While lodging about thirty miles north of New Madrid, on the 14th of December, 1811, about 2 o'clock in the morning, occurred a heavy shock of an earthquake. The house, where I was stopping, was partly of wood and partly of brick structure; the brick portion all fell, but I and the family all fortunately escaped unhurt. At the still greater shock, about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 7th of February, 1812, I was in New Madrid, when nearly two thousand people of all ages, fled in terror from their falling dwellings, in that place and the surrounding country, and directed their course north about thirty miles to Tywappety Hill, on the western bank of the Mississippi, and about seven miles back from the river. This was the first high ground above New Madrid, and here the fugitives formed an encampment. It was proposed that all should kneel, and engage in supplicating God's mercy, and all simultaneously, Catholics and Protestants, knelt and offered solemn prayer to their Creator.

About twelve miles back towards New Madrid, a young woman about seventeen years of age, named Betsey Masters, had been left by her parents and family, her leg having been broken below the knee by the falling of one of the weight-poles of the roof of the cabin; and, though a total stranger, I was the only person who would consent to return and see whether

she still survived. Receiving a description of the locality of the place, I started, and found the poor girl upon a bed, as she had been left, with some water and corn bread within her reach. I cooked up some food for her, and made her condition as comfortable as circumstances would allow, and returned the same day to the grand encampment. Miss Masters eventually recovered.

In abandoning their homes, on this emergency, the people only stopped long enough to get their teams, and hurry in their families and some provisions. It was a matter of doubt among them, whether water or fire would be most likely to burst forth, and cover all the country. The timber land around New Madrid sunk five or six feet, so that the lakes and lagoons, which seemed to have their beds pushed up, discharged their waters over the sunken lands. Through the fissures caused by the earthquake, were forced up vast quantities of a hard, jet black substance, which appeared very smooth, as though worn by friction. It seemed a very different substance from either anthracite or bituminous coal.

This **hegira**, with all its attendant appalling circumstances, was a most heart-rending scene, and had the effect to constrain the most wicked and profane, earnestly to plead to God in prayer for mercy. In less than three months, most of these people returned to their homes, and though the earthquakes continued occasionally with less destructive effects, they became so accustomed to the recurring vibrations, that they paid little or no regard to them, not even interrupting or checking their dances, frolics and vices.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Sixth Paper.

The following are from monuments in the Catholic cemetery at Boonville, and with some exceptions are of persons who died before 1876 or of persons who died since and were more than 75 years old:

Mary R, wife of Michael Barron born in Saint Lenard Co, Wexford, Ireland, died March 17, 1870, aged 50 years.

Michael R. Barron born in County Killkenney, Ireland, Oct. 14, 1800, came to America in 1848, and to Boonville in 1850. Died Oct. 15, 1891.

Cathrina wife of C. Beickele, born Oct. 2, 1837, died Sept. 22, 1872.

Eliza Mooney wife of H. Bue died Apr. 5, 1872, aged 37 years, 7 mos. 17 ds.

Ann wife of Patrick Dalton, died Oct. 9, 1868, aged 28 years.

Maria Anna Darmstadt geb. Feb. 16, 1826, ges. Feb. 3, 1900.

Ignaze Diringer, born in Elsas, France, Aug. 10, 1804, died Apr. 8, 1872.

Magdalena Diringer born in Elsas, France, Sept. 26 1804, died July 25, 1875.

P. H. Donohoe, born June 22, 1829, died March 16, 1904.

Maggie M. Donohoe born March 3, 1839, died Dec. 12, 1901.

Veit Eppstein born Feb. 15, 1828, died March 7, 1902.

Anna K. Felten wife of Hubert Felten died Feb. 9, 1904 aged 70 yrs, 9 mos. 26 ds.

Herbert husband of Annie K. Felton died July 12, 1889, aged 62 years, 11 mos. 24 ds.

Genovefa Fessler born in Forst Baden Gee 1911 died March 16, 1885.

Franz Fessler born in Forst, Germany, 1804, died Oct. 23, 1881.

Anna S. wife of Urban Franken born April 10, 1810, died Sept. 30, 1879.

Mary T. wife of P. J. Franken, born Sept. 23, 1842, died June 11, 1871.

P. J. Franken born in Prussia, June 14, 1834, died March 14, 1887.

John George Garthoffner born in Blankenborn, Rhein Bavaria, Nov. 13, 1825, died May 13, 1873.

Andrew Gartner born Nov. 30, 1835, died Oct. 1870.

Katharine Gehsell geb. Nov. 22, 1813, ges. July 7, 1858.

Ludwig Gehsell geb. Aug. 24, 1809, ges. July 24, 1867.

Magdalena Glahn born in Prussian 1798, died 1859.

F. Timothy Grethwohl ges. Oct. 7, 1871, im alter von 49 Jahr.

Catharine, wife of John Harrison died Dec. 19, 1873, aged 29, 11, 14.

Adolph Hilden born in Longerich, Aug. 15, 1811, died Sept. 16, 1890.

Henry Helfrich died Feb. 16, 1874 aged 38 yrs 6 ms 18 dys.

George J. Hirsch born April 6, 1834, died April 17, 1903.

John Huber died July 25, 1885, aged 77 yrs 7 mos. 11 ds.

Elizabeth Huber died Oct. 26, 1886, aged 79 yrs, 6 ms, 22 ds.

Catharine wife of F. J. Immele born Dec. 25, 1832, died March 13, 1899.

F. J. Immele aged 84 years.

A. M. Immele aged 86 years.

J. J. Jennings born in Livingston Co., N. Y., March 12, 1830, died Aug. 20, 1877.

Elizabeth wife of Joseph Koerniz, born in Bonn, Germany, 1822, married 1851, died April 12, 1890.

Joseph Koenig born near Cologne, Prussia, Dec. 23, 1824, died March 5, 1896.

P. Kuntz died March 9, 1867, aged 22 yrs 6 mos.

Francis Kussman born Aug. 15, 1837, died June 2, 1901.

Elizabeth Mabschand died April 26, 1875, aged 81 yrs 6 mos.

A. P. Mangold born Oct. 1, 1813, died Sept. 11, 1882.

Lora his wife born Nov. 28, 1818, died Feb. 9, 1883.

Hieronimus Meisel born in Karlsruhe Baden Germany, Feb. 23, 1830, died Sept. 20, 1882.

Elizabeth wife of H. Miesel born Jan 2, 1830, died Dec. 24, 1892.

Moniken wife of Joseph Mustetter, born June 2, 1788, died Aug. 29, 1874.

John Mustetter died Oct. 18, 1858, aged 2 mos.

Karl Mustetter died Jan. 11, 1860, aged 5 mos.

Sylvester Mustetter died Jan. 26, 1865, aged 2 mos, 29 ds.

Victoria Mustetter died March 8, 186—, aged 1 yr, 10 ms. 9 dys.
(Children of S. and Th. Mustetter.)

Joseph Miller born Nov. 11, 1818, died Mar. 6, 1891.

Francis son of Patrick and Mary Mollahan, died Aug. 30, 1872, aged about 35 years. A native of Ireland.

Christina wife of H. Oswald born Oct. 12, 1841, died March 10, 1893.

Herman Oswald born in Bavaria, April 17, 1826, died Dec. 13, 1903.

Mary Jane wife of C. S. Prongue, died July 30, 1869, aged 26 yrs, 1 mo. 11 ds.

Michael son of G. & B. Schepperd died Nov. 15, 1871, aged 29 yrs, 6 mos.

Thomas Sharp born in Co. Carlow, Ireland, Dec. 25, 1824, died April 8, 1898.

George Shepperd died Aug. 27, 1875, aged 72 yrs.

Catharine wife of John Smith born in Prussia, Jan 19, 1806, died Nov. 25, 1886.

Frank Joseph Spaedy born Oct. 1809, died July 1886.

Catharine Spaedy born May, 1810, died Dec. 1891.

Maria E. Weber geb. May, Oct. 11, 1811, ges. Jan. 11, 1880.

Johannah Westman died Sept. 7, 1875, aged 67 yrs 2 ms 12 ds.

BOOK NOTICES.

The farmer boy who became a Bishop. The autobiography of the **Right Reverend Anson Rogers Graves, S. T. D., LL. D.** Akron, Ohio, 1911.

Bishop Graves was born in Vermont, and served as rector in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, at Minneapolis and Northfield, Minnesota, at several places in New England, then bishop of a district in Nebraska called the jurisdiction of The Platte, and later Bishop of Northern California. The book is dedicated to "all boys who want to make something of themselves," and is an interesting addition to western biography, and religious history.

Poems of Fancy by **A. Donald Douglas.** New York, (c. 1911.)

This booklet of fourteen poems is by a student yet at Harvard, a son of Archer W. Douglas of St. Louis. The Society is pleased to have an autograph copy from the author.

Emily Roe of Baltimore, by **Julia Frances Graham,** 2d edition. St. Louis, Fred T. Borden, 1911.

This book by a St. Louis authoress is in the form of a novel, but is to some extent a biographical sketch of a friend of the authoress—one who lost her father by shipwreck, and who held to an impression that he was not dead, and who after long search found him, he having been held by savages on an island in the Pacific for years.

Tenth Biennial report of the Historical Department of Iowa. Des Moines, 1910.

In Iowa the official Historical Society of the state is at Iowa City, in connection with the State University, and at the capitol there is the Historical Department, with Edgar R. Harlan as Curator. The library belonging to this department

has special subjects as early western history; the North American Indians; the Civil War, particularly regimental histories; publications of historical societies and kindred institutions; and especially Iowa publications, Iowa history, and in general everything pertaining to Iowa. The Department has the magnificent collection of autographs made by Mr. Charles Aldrich, the former curator, and this collection has been increased by much manuscript material from various persons, including a great collection from Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, a member of this Society.

At the St. Louis World's Fair the state had a fine exhibit of books by Iowa authors, and this is deposited with the Department, and is being added to by donations from the authors. The State has provided cases for this special collection.

Of newspapers the Department has two or more from each county from 1893 to the present, and during the biennium it obtained valuable files of the early Iowa periodicals. The Department gets the current issues of 325 newspapers, and 114 other periodicals.

During the biennium ten oil portraits of distinguished Iowans had been obtained, and the collection has become an extensive one.

Twentieth Century History of Carroll County, Missouri, by **S. K. Turner** and **S. A. Clark.** Illustrated. 2 vols. Indianapolis, Indiana, 1911.

This county history issued in two quarto finely bound volumes, is one of the best of the new style of county histories. The authors are real estate men of Carrollton, and they have done good work in the first volume. The second is the usual biographical accompaniment of county histories, and was prepared by other persons. The first volume gives an account of the Indians who occupied this part of the country, of the pioneers, the military history, the political history, and the various events that took place in the county down to the pres-

ent time. We hope to see many other county histories as creditable in plans and efforts as this.

The Twenty-third Psalm. "In song and story." By **W. O. Graham**, Kansas City, Mo. 1911.

This classic literature is given in Hebrew, in Greek, in Latin, and in various English editions from Wycliffe, 1380 to the many other versions from that time to the present.

It also gives poems founded upon it, by Montgomery, Watts, Rous and Eugene Field.

Street and Lawn Trees, a paper by **W. O. Graham**, read before the Missouri Valley Horticultural Society, July 15, 1911.

This paper in a semi-humorous vein has much of interest to any one who has a spot in which to plant trees—a single one or a large grove of them.

Katalog des Concordia Publishing House, cor. Jefferson ave. and Miami st., Louis, Mo.

The growth and magnitude of this publishing company is indicated by the catalog of 1911-1912 which contains 408 pages.

Something Else. A novel by **J. Breckenridge Ellis**, Chicago, A. C. McClure & Co., 1911.

This is the latest work of this well known author who is a native of Missouri, and of whose books the Society has eight. The story of this one is laid in New York city and neighborhood, and tells the story of the young man who seeks to learn the truth as to his unknown father and mother, and the final success, and along with it the happy culmination of a series of love or near love episodes, which keep up the interest of the reader throughout the book. It can be had of the publishers at \$1.35 net.

Rogers' Souvenir History of Mercer County, Missouri, and

Dictionary of Local Dates. W. H. Rogers Printing company, Trenton, Missouri. [1911.]

Col W. B. Rogers' portrait appropriately faces the title page of this county history of the new style, and greater excellence and correctness than those of three decades ago.

The history of the county from the early days is well related and Col Rogers' long residence in the county made it possible to present a real history, and not simply an excuse for a biographical part. The Society is indebted to the publishers for a copy of the work.

Jean Carroll, a tale of the Ozark hills. By **John Homer Case**, N Y. 1911.

"The Ozark mountains" are known in geography; the "Ozark uplift" in geology; and now the Ozarks are becoming known in fiction. Harold Bell Wright found it fruitful of plots, and now a new Missouri writer of Marshfield, Webster county, a part of the Ozark country, has published an interesting novel, dealing with the operations of the "Bald-Knobbers," that secret organization which originated with a good purpose, but finally became a cloak for robbers and murderers. During the time it was in power the writer stopping over night in Douglas county, commenced to ask his host, a relative of a world wide known explorer, about the organization, but he very soon realized that it was a subject not to be talked about in that part of the country. The author weaves a love story during the height of the power of the organization and to the time of its downfall.

Back to Old Ohio and other poems by **Capt. W. F. Henry**, St. James, Mo., 1911.

A new booklet has been added to the long list of Missouri poetry, this one by an old time friend, now superintendent of the Soldiers' Home, at St. James, Missouri. Capt. Henry was in the Civil War, and many of the poems were written for or about patriotic occasions, and others about old friends or relations, and they are now put in suitable form for preservation.

"The Journal of American History," volume V, number IV, lately issued, but without date, is of interest to Missourians, especially on account of the article on "The Winning of Oregon," in which are given portraits of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Senator Lewis Field Linn, (given by mistake as "Representative Lewis Field Linn, of Virginia,") and Thomas H. Benton.

This magazine is noted for the fine plates contained in it, as well as for the subject matter.

The legislature of Illinois appropriated \$2500 for inspection of and reporting upon county and other local archives, and \$5000 per annum for the work of procuring and preserving documentary historical material. It has also taken steps towards the erection of a building for the preservation of its historical material.

NECROLOGY.

NORMAN J. COLMAN, the first Commissioner of Agriculture, appointed by President Cleveland, the editor and founder of Colman's Rural World, Lieutenant Governor of Missouri 1874 to 1876, and member of the State Board of Agriculture from 1867 to the present time, except during the four years he was in Washington, elected member of the Twenty-fourth general assembly of Missouri in 1867 and member of the Board of Directors of the State Fair from its beginning. He was born at Richfield Springs, New York, on the 16th of May, 1827, and moved to St. Louis in 1852. He died November 3, 1911.

FREDERICK MORGAN CRUNDEN, librarian of the St. Louis Public Library from 1877 to 1909, died October 28, 1911, at St. Luke's Hospital, St. Louis, where he had been a patient for nearly five years. For three years after his breakdown from work he still held the position of librarian, and was then succeeded by Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, of New York City.

Mr. Crunden was born in Gravesend, England, September 1, 1847, was educated in the schools of St. Louis and Washington University. Becoming librarian of the Public Library in 1877 he soon became prominent in his chosen work, and in 1889 was elected President of the American Library Association, and in 1897 was vice president of the International Library Conference at London. He developed for St. Louis a creditable public library system before either New York or Brooklyn had reached equal development.

FRANK A. J. HILLER, former Secretary of the Board of Health of the State, died in St. Louis, October 18, 1911, aged 54 years. He was born in Neisse in the Province of Silesia, Prussia, and came to St. Louis in 1870.

REV. J. W. MONSER, for ten years libraraian of the University of Missouri, and author of several books, died in Kansas City just before New Years day, aged 73 years. He had been pastor of Christian churches in Boone county, Topeka, Atlanta and Des Moines. The Society has but one of his books—"Types and Metaphors of the Bible."

HON. JOSEPH PULITZER of the New York World and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, died on his yacht in Charleston harbor. He was born in Buda-Pesth, Hungary in April, 1847, his father being a Jew and his mother a Catholic. In 1864 he came to this country, and in 47 years increased his wealth from a 20-franc piece to more than \$20,000,000. On his arrival in New York he enlisted in the First New York cavalry, and served till the close of the war. He then came to St. Louis in 1866, and got work at Jefferson Barracks as hostler to army mules.

In 1869 he was elected a member of House in the 25th General Assembly of Missouri. He became managing editor of the Westliche Post in 1871. He afterwards bought the two papers first mentioned and was active in political matters, and after the Liberal Republican campaign of 1870 was a Democrat. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, of which it is said that only two are now living. He died on his yacht in Charleston harbor November 29, 1911.

COL. CHARLES H. MORGAN was born in Allegheny county, New York, in 1853, and reared on a farm in Wisconsin. At the beginning of the Civil War, while a student in the Fond du Lac High school, at the age of 18 years, he enlisted in the First Wisconsin Infantry and for gallantry in battle was promoted to Captain. He was in various battles, and five times was captured by the Confederates. After the war he was admitted to the bar, and removed to Lamar, Missouri, but after 1884 went into mining. In 1873 he was elected to the House of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly of Missouri and in 1874 was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress by

the Democratic party, and re-elected to the Forty-fifth, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses.

In the Spanish-American war he was Lieutenant Colonel of the Fifth Missouri Infantry. After the war he was elected to the Sixty-first Congress by the Republican party.

He died of pneumonia at Joplin, January 4, 1912.

REV. C. N. YOUNG was born in 1828, and for fifty-six years was a minister of the gospel. In 1864 he was elected to the Senate in the Twenty-third general assembly from the St. Joseph district. He died at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, January 11, 1912.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

THE HANNIBAL MEETING.

The Historical section of the State Teacher's Association meeting at Hannibal proved to be a splendid success in every way. The meetings were largely attended and the audiences were both enthusiastic and talkative. At the first session, held Thursday afternoon, November 9, Professor Trenholme, of the University, Chairman of the Section, ably presented the results of the investigations of the Committee of Five. The discussion which followed involved a large part of the audience and showed the keen appreciation of the problems and a general but by no means complete acceptance of the conclusions of the Committee.

At the second session, Friday afternoon, Mr. Fair, of the Kirksville Normal, presented a suggestive paper on the use of the stereopticon as an aid in history teaching, illustrated by slides dealing with Egyptian life, and was followed by a practical discussion on the ways and means of obtaining lanterns, slides and other necessary equipment. Some arrangement whereby the existing stock of negatives might be made generally available were suggested but no definite action was taken. After an inspiring illustrated talk on the work of the Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor by Professor Olmstead, of the University, its director, the meeting was given up to a general discussion of some of the more practical problems of history teaching. This discussion turned largely on the use of collateral reading, with considerable conflicting opinion. Time unfortunately forbade a very extensive discussion, and after a short business meeting the session closed.

The general impressions gathered by a newcomer were of the enthusiasm of the participants and the practical character of the problems discussed together with the aptness of the general discussions. The cordial nature of the relations be-

tween the various ranks of teachers whether high school, normal or university and their realization of their community of interests in the problems involved was especially noticeable. The discussionss revealed, however, the necessity of an earlier advertising of the topics of discussion and the collection of a considerable quantity of practical data on certain points, such as the use of maps, collateral reading, etc., and some arrangement by which more time can be devoted to the discussions. It seemed to be the general consensus of opinion among those present that a large part of future meetings should be devoted to the solution of practical problems. It is to be hoped, too, that an even larger attendance may be had in the spring.

J. E. WRENCH, Columbia.

UNIVERSITY HISTORY CLUB.

The History Club of the University of Missouri, made up of the members of the history faculty and of students especially interested in historical study, had a successful year during the season of 1910-1911, and is experiencing an equally successful series of meetings this year. The Club meets once a month, usually at the home of one of the faculty members. Its constitution is very elastic, being nothing more nor less than an understanding that at the first meeting of the academic year a steering committee of three, composed of a faculty member, a graduate student, and an undergraduate student, shall be elected for the ensuing year. This committee has full responsibility for the programs of the monthly meetings, and for the time and place of meeting, notifications of which are sent to all the members of the Club.

During the past year the steering committee adopted a plan whereby the program for each meeting was related to a program for the whole year. Starting out with the idea that the Club should always be interested in the more important events of current history, from fifteen minutes to a half hour at the beginning of each meeting was devoted to such topics,

two leaders of the discussion having been designated beforehand by the committee.

Following this at each meeting, a fifteen-minute discussion of a world famous historian was presented by one of the members. This feature of the program was begun in the early part of the year with the presentation of two typical Ancient historians, and was followed up at later meetings with interesting discussions of representative Medieval, Modern, English and American historians. In this case also, the historian to be considered, as well as the member of the club to present the discussion, was designated by the steering committee.

Finally, at each meeting, a twenty-minute discussion was given (followed by a general discussion) of the relation of history to some closely allied subject—literature, sociology, geography or economics, for instance. At the last meeting of the year, these discussions were summarized and the general topic as to what constituted history was considered.

At all of the meetings it was aimed to make the students feel that the Club was theirs, and to bring out student discussion, and for these reasons the most of the formal part of the programs was assigned to student members of the Club. The preparation of their reports and discussions was in most cases carefully done, and was of considerable value in the general training in the use of historical material.

Not the least valuable part of the meetings was the time spent before and after the programs in informal conversation, resulting in the development of a better spirit and understanding between faculty members and students.

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THE SHELBY RAID, 1863.*

All the survivors of the armies of the frontier, and of the border, have vivid recollections of the rebel general, Jo Shelby, and of his brave command. Especially is this true of the representatives of the Twenty-seventh and of the Seventh Missouri regiments, here assembled in reunion, as we met and fought Shelby and his men many times in the three years, beginning at Lexington in 1861 and ending at Mine Creek in 1864, and learned to know him well.

Of all the cavalry commanders in the Confederate army west of the Mississippi river, Jo Shelby was unquestionably the best. There were others who excelled him in military education, but they were far inferior to him in natural military genius, as well as in that dash and personal magnetism so necessary in a leader of a large cavalry force.

His most conspicuous and daring achievement was in that extensive expedition into Missouri from Arkansas in the fall of 1863, which has passed into history as the "Shelby Raid," to which my purpose today is to briefly direct your attention and recall some of its stirring memories.

At that time, Shelby was colonel of the Fifth Missouri Confederate cavalry, and was also commanding what was

* Read at Reunion at Clinton, September 27, 1894.

then known as Shelby's brigade of Price's army, and he then had for his adjutant-general, Captain, afterwards Major, John N. Edwards, a most picturesque, original and attractive writer, possessing quite an active imagination, but whose reports were so exaggerated always as to destroy their historic value.

On the 22nd day of September, 1863, Shelby left Arkadelphia, Ark., with 600 men, parts of three regiments of his brigade, Gordon's, Shanks' and Hooper's, with Elliott's battalion of scouts, and a section of Bledsoe's battery, commanded by Lieutenant Harris. On the 30th he was joined by Col. Hunter at McKissick's Springs with 200 men, recruited in Missouri and Arkansas.

On the 2nd of October he was met at Pineville by Col. Coffee with 400 men, recruited in the same manner as Hunter's had been. He passed through Neosho on October 4th, capturing Capt. McAfee's command of Union troops there. His force was then estimated at 1500 by Capt. McAfee.

October 5th he marched through Greenfield and on the 6th through Humansville, and arrived at Warsaw October 7th, and by this time his force had reached nearly, if not quite, 2000 men, according to all accounts. His successful march to the Osage river from the southwestern corner of Missouri is, however, easily accounted for by the fact that after the return of the Missouri Union troops into this state in the summer of 1863, after their campaign with the army of the Frontier in the fall and winter of 1862-3, they were scattered in small detachments garrisoning widely severed and distant posts, and were actively engaged in chasing and dispersing the numerous guerilla bands which then infested every county in the state south of the Missouri river.

For this purpose the territory south of that river had been divided into military districts. Gen. McNeil was in northwestern Arkansas and also in command of the district south of the Osage river in Missouri; Gen. Brown of the territory in this state, between the Missouri and Osage rivers west of Jefferson City and east of Cass county, and Gen.

Ewing was at Kansas City in command of the forces stationed at the various posts in Lafayette, Bates and Cass counties.

The combined cavalry troops under these three commanders exceeded those under Shelby, but their concentration on such short notice was a work of difficulty and danger and required time.

When Shelby reached Humansville, General Brown was at Clinton on a tour of inspection, having left Major J. H. Steger with the remainder of his staff at Jefferson City. Hearing of Shelby's advance, Brown marched to Osceola. Col. Philips with ten companies of the Seventh M. S. M. left Sedalia October 6th for Osceola, arriving there on the 8th. Col. Lazear with ten companies of the First M. S. M. left Warrensburg on the Seventh and arrived at Clinton the next day. Gen. Brown then moved with the Seventh to Sedalia and ordered Col. Lazear with the First east from Clinton in the direction of Warsaw. At that time all three of its Majors, Foster, Houts and Suess were on duty with the Seventh regiment. Major Suess had been detailed as chief of cavalry in the Central Military District, but was relieved from that duty at his own request in order to join his brave comrades in the field. Major Houts had been at Warsaw in command of the post there but had gathered up his battalion, then widely scattered at different places, escaped from Shelby, and joined Col. Philips at Clinton in order to be, where he always was, in the front of the coming battles. Major Foster had been desperately wounded in the battle of Lone Jack in August, 1862, the bloodiest conflict, in proportion to the numbers engaged, of the entire war of the rebellion. He had arisen from what seemed to be his death bed and had rejoined his beloved regiment at Greenfield in the spring of 1863, had returned with it from the southwest in the summer of that year, and was upon his arrival at Osceola appointed by Gen. Brown as his chief of staff for that campaign. Upon his arrival at Osceola on the evening of October 8th, Gen. Brown learned that Shelby had passed Warsaw and was marching north towards the Pacific railroad. Major Foster with 200 men, detachments of Cos.

B and G of the Seventh, commanded by Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Sandy Love, was directed by Gen. Brown to locate Shelby, keep within fighting distance of him, and observe his movements. Foster marched all night of the 8th, ascertaining near midnight that he was in Shelby's rear and so reported to Gen. Brown. Reaching Warsaw at 7:45 a. m. on the 9th, Foster learned that Shelby had moved towards Sedalia on the Cole Camp road. He moved at once by a more direct, though less traveled road, and rode clear around Shelby's entire command, getting between him and Sedalia and capturing a number of prisoners out of his rear guard. By dragging branches of trees behind them in the road, Foster's men raised such a cloud of dust as to completely deceive Shelby and lead him to believe that General Brown was close behind him with a large force. Whereupon, instead of going directly from Cole Camp to Sedalia as was his evident purpose, Shelby deflected to the east in the direction of Tipton.

This view was helped along by a clever ruse on the part of Major Foster and Lieutenant Lowe: Lowe captured three (3) prisoners, and as he rode up to the head of the column towards Major Foster with them, the latter, wheeling his horse, said to Lowe, "Colonel, how far back is your regiment?" "About a half mile, General," said Lowe. Just then Lowe purposely let the prisoners get away, and they soon afterwards reached and told Shelby that Col. Philips had captured them and that they saw and heard him tell Gen. Brown that his regiment was coming up and was not far away.

Foster then galloped into Sedalia on the afternoon of the 9th, thus saving that important military post from a siege and perhaps capture by Shelby, and Gen. Brown and Col. Philips arrived there that night, the brave fellows of the Seventh having marched from Osceola that day, a distance of 70 miles.

Col. George S. Hall, of the Fourth M. S. M., was then at Sedalia with four companies of his regiment, 200 men, under their veteran Major, Kelly. Major William Gentry, of the Fifth Provisional Missouri Militia, was in command of the

post at Sedalia, with about 100 of his men. This force was afterwards increased by about 120 more men, detachments of the Ninth and Sixtieth regiments under Captains Wear and Freund.

After being mustered out of the Twenty-seventh, at the expiration of our term of service early in 1862, I had re-enlisted in the Twenty-third regiment of Missouri Militia, composed largely of railroad men, had been promoted to Second Lieutenant of Company H in it in that year, and had been detached and served with Brown's brigade in the Arkansas campaign of that fall and winter and had returned with it to central Missouri in the summer of 1863. At the time Shelby marched into Missouri, I was in Sedalia with a small detachment of Companies H and I of the Twenty-third, who were guarding and operating the west end of the Pacific railroad, and therefore in active military service.

Col. Hall was taken quite sick soon after his arrival in Sedalia, so that the command of the battalion of his regiment there devolved on Major Kelly. Majors Kelly and Gentry disposed of their little force to the best advantage for the defense of Sedalia and prepared to fight Shelby to the last, should he attempt to take the place. In addition to my other duties, Major Kelly detailed me to the command of the hastily enrolled recruits we gathered up in that city, and from the latter days of September until October 9th we drilled daily and slept at night in the old freight and passenger depot upon almost the exact spot where the brick passenger station now stands in the city of Sedalia. It chanced to be my turn to be on duty as officer of the day on the afternoon of the 9th when Major Foster arrived. We had a strong picket out just north of Flat creek on the Warsaw road, when he came in sight. They commenced a slow retreat in good order, supposing it was Shelby's advance guard. The bugles of the Fourth sounded the assembly, and Kelly's and Gentry's battalions fell in with the precision and coolness that always distinguished them. Galloping quickly to the pickets, we then saw Major Foster ride forward ahead of his rapidly moving

line and we quickly recognized him, as well as as his black mare, Mary, and rode out to meet him with shouts of welcome, as we knew that he had frightened Shelby out of his course and had saved Sedalia and our little command as well. Upon his arrival Major Foster relieved me from duty at Sedalia and assigned me to field service with him as aid de camp.

Late that night Gen. Brown and Col. Philips arrived in Sedalia with the Seventh regiment about 800 strong. That same night a detachment of 100 men under Capt. James Wood, of Shelby's brigade, dashed into Otterville, capturing Capt. Berry, of the Fifth Provisional regiment and 28 men, burned the bridge over the Lamine river and then overtook Shelby near Tipton. At daybreak on the morning of the 10th Major Kelly and Major Gentry, with 420 men, left Sedalia with orders to find Shelby, form a junction with Col. Lazear, who had followed the rebel trail from Clinton via Calhoun and Cole Camp and who was supposed to be close behind him near Tipton. At day light on the 11th, Gen. Brown left Sedalia with the Seventh going directly to Boonville. Major Foster sent me with Majors Kelly and Gentry on the 10th, directing me to rejoin him when Col. Lazear had overtaken Kelly and Gentry. We struck Shelby's pickets at Syracuse, six miles west of Tipton and fifteen miles east of Sedalia, on the forenoon of the 10th and drove them four miles, into Shelby's lines on the prairie two miles west of Tipton. There we found the entire rebel force, 2000 strong, with two pieces of artillery, in rapid march eastward, and by repeated charges led always by the two gallant majors, Kelly and Gentry, forced them to a stand. They re-formed and opened on us with their artillery and drove us back to Syracuse. There we rode around their right flank by a circuitous route and met Col. Lazear with 500 of the First M. S. M. late that night at Tipton, that brave officer having overtaken Shelby's rear guard there and driven them out of the place. Capt. Darst, with Co. E, of the Seventh, 70 strong, who had been at Versailles, overtook and joined Col. Lazear near Tipton. Capt. Turley, of the Seventh, and myself left Col. Lazear before day-

break of the 11th and started by ourselves across the country, which was filled with stragglers and foragers from Shelby's command and rode all that day from Tipton to the outskirts of Boonville. There we separated, Capt. Turley to try and make his way into town, which he did, and I to find and report to Gen. Brown. I rode south to McGruder's, 8 miles from Boonville on the Sedalia road and was there delighted to find Gen. Brown, Col. Phillips and the Seventh regiment encamped.

In the meantime the brave and tireless Lazear, ably supported by the two dashing majors of the First, Mullins and McGhee, as well as Majors Kelly, Gentry and Captain Wear, 1020 men in all, followed and fought Shelby all the way from Tipton to within 4 miles of Boonville on the Tipton road, where Lazear finally laid down to rest in line of battle, without anything to eat, on the night of October 11th. Deceived by a false rumor that Shelby had gone east that night out of Boonville, Gen. Brown moved off the Sedalia road at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 12th and marched 5 miles toward Lazear. Some of us protested at the time, and when the order came to stop and feed, Capt. Foster, of the Seventh, declared that corn could not be injected into his horses even if "squirt guns" were furnished him. At the same time Lieutenant G. Will Houts, of Co. E, of the Seventh, was left behind with 30 men, with orders to move slowly towards Boonville and attack the enemy if he met them. He met and attacked Shelby's advance guard, killing one man and mortally wounding the commanding officer and two others. We heard the firing and galloped back towards it, Major Suess leading the advance. In the meantime Col. Lazear had driven in the enemy's pickets and charged into Boonville from the Tipton road. Our unfortunate blunder in moving east let Shelby out of Boonville via the Sedalia and Marshall road. After thus escaping, Shelby turned west in the direction of Marshall in full and rapid retreat. We galloped steadily forward for 10 miles, passing over our late camping ground and rescued Lieutenant Houts with his little squadron of heroes, and took the right of Col. Lazear's line, who had followed the enemy out of Boon-

ville fighting him every time he could overtake him, until we reached Dug Ford on the Lamine. There Major Suess charged their rear, and Capt. Little of the First dashed into the stream up to the saddle skirts and routed, what seemed to be, the rear guard of the enemy, about 200 or 300 strong. Here, Major Foster took the advance with Companies A, C, D and F of the Seventh and Col. Lazear fell in behind us with his command and we chased the retreating rebels to a stand at the Salt Fork of the Blackwater late in the afternoon. Here Shelby dismounted Shank's regiment west of the creek and deployed them in the brush commanding the ford, bringing up his artillery also which soon got our exact range. We dismounted also near the east bank of the creek, and two guns of Thurber's battery came up and went into action. Here we fought until darkness and a heavy rain storm came on. The bullets fell around us like hail. While delivering the order to dismount to Major Houts, I saw Capt. Box, of Co. H of the Seventh, ride out near the ford in full view of the enemy, and what looked like a hat full of bullets fell all around him leaving him unhurt excepting a few scratches. A few minutes before, while delivering the same order to Capt. Foster of Co. G, of the Seventh, that brave fellow coolly said, looking down at the wet ground while the bullets were singing in our ears and cutting the branches of trees close to our heads, "I'm afraid if we get down here in this mud we'll catch our death from colds."

Here a poor fellow belonging to Thurber's battery had both his legs taken off close to his body by a rebel cannon ball, dying in a few moments, and his gallant Captain knelt by his side with tears streaming down his powder blackened face trying to stop the rush of life blood from the gaping wounds until the unconscious soldier breathed his last and his soul ascended to Heaven.

Major Foster, just before dark, ordered a charge on the ford, and with wild yells, led by the three Majors, Foster, Suess and Houts, we took it and the enemy fell back in a hurry. Here we halted, and laid down on our arms in line

about nine o'clock at night in the rain under the trees, without tents or supper, to wait for morning light so as to renew the attack. Shelby then moved up within six miles of Marshall and halted there that night. At 2 o'clock in the morning Major Foster awoke me and directed me to find Col. Lazear and bring him up to headquarters. I stumbled along through the brush, riding from one camp fire to another in the darkness until I found and awoke Col. Lazear, and together we went back to Major Foster and found him wrapped in an oil cloth blanket under a tree by a camp fire. At Gen. Brown's request, Major Foster directed Col. Lazear to take his regiment with the detachments under Majors Kelly and Gentry and Captain Wear and ride around Shelby's left flank and get into Marshall ahead of him. This was a clear departure from the established military rule, not to divide your force in the face of the enemy; but the result vindicated the judgment of the officers who gave the order. Col. Lazear had two small pieces of artillery with him and these he took along, leaving Thurber's four guns with us. The brave and faithful Lazear moved off on our left in a gallop, Major Mullins leading the advance at daylight, and reached Marshall at 7 a. m., in time to feed, dismount and post his riflemen behind a stone fence on the crest of a gentle slope just east of Marshall. Major Mullins dismounted and took the center, Major Gentry the right, Major McGhee and Captain Wear the crest of the hill on the left, and Major Kelly, mounted, was held in reserve behind the battery. The enemy soon appeared in force, opened on Lazear's brave command with their artillery and charged repeatedly both mounted and on foot up to the stone wall, only to be repulsed with severe loss. In this attack Hunter and Coffee had the right of the line, Gordon the Center, Hooper the left, and Shanks the rear of Shelby's force. So fierce was the fight that Major Edwards with his usual poetic license says that Ewing was in front of them, with 4000 men and Brown behind them with 4000 more. Our total force in the field that day was 1020 under Lazear and less than 800 under Philips. Gen. Brown and Col. Philips started after

Shelby early on the morning of the 13th from the battle field of Salt Fork, as soon as it was light enough to see the road. At 8 a. m. we heard the roar of the battle, and galloped towards the sound of the guns. Major Houts was sent forward in advance with Companies H, I and K of the Seventh, and charged the rear regiment of the rebel command under Shanks and became hotly engaged with it. Between us and the town was a creek with steep banks covered with scrubby undergrowth. Here the enemy's rear guard under Shanks was posted on high ground commanding the ford and also a little bridge which they had partly torn up. Capt. Foster was sent a half mile above this and dismounted, and the battalion under Majors Suess and Foster soon followed him, with two pieces of artillery, leaving Major Houts with the other two guns and his three companies fighting on the bridge with the rebel rear guard. He fought them for an hour, never yielding, and finally crossed and drove the rear guard back on the main body. In the meantime we had worked around through hills and hollows and all sorts of obstacles to a position on the left bank of the enemy. He got our exact range and opened on us with his artillery, and the shot and shell plowed up the ground in our ranks. We then dismounted and started for them. They then moved off to the north and stopped in a hemp field, the hemp still standing and nearly if not quite grown, about three-quarters of a mile north of Marshall. Here Col. Phillips left the battery with two companies, F and G, behind it for support and the remainder of the Seventh, except Major Hout's battalion, still on foot, went into action on the left of Majors Kelly and Gentry. Here as we mounted to support the battery, Sam West, of Company G, saw a dead rebel lying on the ground near by with a pair of new boots on. This was a temptation he never could resist, so he at once dismounted and began to pull the boots off of the dead man. Major Foster, as he rode by, saw it and said, in his quick, stern way, "Are you robbing the dead, you scoundrel?" "No, Major," blandly replied the unabashed Sam, "he don't need any boots in hell, where he's gone, and mine's plum wore out."

Just then we charged through the hemp, led by Major Foster, and drove back a large body of their cavalry, and as we fell back to the artillery again, when the field was clear, I saw Sam West galloping along in the ranks with what looked like a new pair of boots on.

After dismounting we then fought them at close range for nearly an hour, when the gallant Kelly charged with his mounted battalion and broke their center, cutting Shelby's force completely in two in the middle. With a wild yell, Col. Lazear's and Col. Philips' command rushed in and filled the gap in the rebel lines and poured a hot fire in on them. Hunter and Coffee thus cut off swung off to the right closely pursued by Major Houts with two companies of the Seventh. Col. Lazear started towards Lexington with a rush, to head Shelby off, as when his command was thus severed, that foxy old soldier doubled on his trail and galloped off towards Miami with the remainder of his command. Led by Col. Philips and Majors Foster and Suess, we remounted and spurred after the retreating rebels, Majors Kelly and Gentry joining in the chase. As we rode down a long lane on the Miami road, we saw a crowd around their best gun, a ten-pounder, and guessed that something had gone wrong. The limber had broken and it was disabled, but we did not know it then. Major Foster ordered Captain Box, of Company H, Seventh, to deploy his company through a little patch of scrub oaks, dismount them, charge the gun and take it, while Companies F and G galloped down the road to attack the rear guard of the enemy and drive off the support behind the gun as well. Just here I saw Captain Box execute one of the coolest maneuvers ever seen upon a battle field. As he charged, on foot, towards the gun, the enemy poured in a terrific fire on him at short range, staggering his men and twisting his line. Box ran well up in front of his advancing column and shouted in a voice easily heard above the roar of the battle, "mark time, march, left, left, left," as if on company drill. His brave fellows dressed up as if on parade when, waving his saber high in air, the gallant captain shouted, "charge, come

on, boys," and away they went slap into a superior force and took the gun away from them. By this time we had struck the enemy's rear guard and the battery support, too, and were chasing them down the road. Captain Box soon followed us, bringing the gun along, having spliced the limber in incredibly short time with a scrub oak sapling and a halter strap.

This was never reported, but no one who saw it can ever forget it, or withhold unstinted praise to the brave men who took part in that unique but wonderfully effective moment.

We chased Shelby's men all that afternoon through the prairie towards Miami. They tried to tear up the bridge over Salt Fork, but we were so close behind them that they dropped the broken planks and ran. They had remounted their entire command on fresh horses before reaching Boonville, sweeping the country before them, and thus had an immense advantage over our jaded mounts. We had a running fight with them for 10 miles and at 5 p. m. near Miami we crowded them so close that they formed into line of battle. Game little Charley Thurber brought up his battery in a dead run, and opened on them at half mile range with telling effect as he always did, while we charged them in close column. Again they fell back going directly north towards the river with their wagons in front. Here Col. Philips and Major Suess with three companies, cut across the prairie towards the head of the retreating column, while Major Foster pursued their center and Major Kelly the rear. Col. Philips mired down in a swamp in the prairie and came near losing his big gray horse, and in making a detour after he got out, lost his place and got behind us. Shelby seeing this, left the main road and turned west on a bridle path through Van Meters' farm. We yelled and shot at them and gave them many sarcastic invitations to stop, but they threw off blankets, tin cups, bundles of forage, hats and everything but guns, and again escaped in the twilight. We followed until it got too dark to see, and then staked our horses out on the open prairie, and tried to sleep with our saddles for pillows, with nothing

to eat, and no covering but the clouded and rainy sky. All this time Major Houts was closely following Hunter, who retreated directly south through Otterville and Cole Camp.

Here Gen. Brown who had remained at Marshall after the battle there, ordered Majors Kelly and Gentry with Thurber's battery back to Marshall and from there to join Col. Hall of the Fourth, who had remained at Sedalia, in the pursuit of Hunter and Coffee. During the night, Col. Brutsche, of the Ninth Provisional regiment, with 200 men overtook us, and at 4 in the morning on the 14th, we again started on the enemy's trail. The road was strewn with all sorts of plunder, showing the demoralized state of the rebel force after the battle of Marshall, and the subsequent pursuit.

When we reached the Missouri river that day, we found that the enemy had abandoned two ambulances, five army wagons, and forty head of mules. We got the ambulances and Col. Hall afterwards secured the mules. Three of the wagons were loaded with ammunition, and all had been dumped into the river. We followed up the Lexington road 12 miles south of the river, and here Col. Lazear passed us going towards Lexington, and also Col. Wear, of Gen. Ewing's command, with 500 men of the 9th Kansas cavalry. We went up to the Sedalia road 14 miles from Lexington and then turned south, as our horses were so worn out we could not again overtake the fleeing rebels.

The next day we marched 25 miles to Mulkeys' and there camped, and on the 18th arrived at Sedalia, having marched 310 miles in 9 days, two nights and parts of seven nights in the rain and mud, without rations or camp equipage of any kind.

Major Houts, with two companies of the Seventh and two companies of the Forty-third Missouri Militia, under Captain Hart, chased Hunter and Coffee from Marshall south through Otterville to Cole Camp, where Col. Hall relieved him. Col. Lazear pursued Shelby, who then had between 500 and 700 men with him, towards Waverly, when Shelby turned south towards Warrensburg, Lazear after him. Lazear then fol-

lowed via Columbus to Rose Hill, when Gen. Ewing relieved him.

Col. Hall left Sedalia on the 15th, overtook Major Houts at Cole Camp and chased Hunter to Duroc, 15 miles below Warsaw.

Major Gentry left Marshall the day after the battle there and joining Col. Hall at Sedalia helped him pursue Hunter to Duroc.

Gen. McNeil had concentrated his force by this time, and his advance under Major King of the Sixth M. S. M., overtook Hunter on October 16th, 15 miles from Quincy, and had a running fight with him to Humansville, where he captured Shelby's remaining piece of artillery and 40 rounds of ammunition. Hunter then scattered his men in the brush and escaped via Stockton, King closely pursuing him. Gen. Ewing and Col. Wear arrived in Sedalia on the 12th, but not hearing from Gen. Brown, who was, as before stated, at Boonville, Gen. Ewing counter marched to Warrensburg and then moved southwest through Chilhowee. His adjutant in this campaign was Lieut. J. L. Thornton, a Johnson county boy, cousin of Major Houts. Thornton had served in the Twenty-seventh and then re-enlisted in the Eleventh Kansas cavalry, Ewing's own regiment. Ewing had about 600 men and Wear 500. Col. Wear moved northwest from Sedalia, passed us near Lexington, as before stated, and pursued Shelby until Ewing joined in the chase near Butler. Ewing and Wear chased Shelby through Carthage and Diamond Springs, crowding the enemy so closely as to drive him into the brush. By that time Shelby's force had almost lost the semblance of an organized body, and many of his men were captured by the pursuing forces. When thus taken, the rebels were in a pitiable plight, and many were demented, and in a dying condition, from hunger, exposure, loss of sleep, and terrific, long marching without rest.

On the 4th of November, Shelby arrived near Washington in the southern part of Arkansas, and there called on his superior officer, Gen. Marmaduke, for more men and supplies.

We found 53 dead and 98 wounded rebels on the battle field at Marshall. Our loss there was 42 killed and wounded. When last seen by our troops, Hunter had about 500 men and Shelby about 600, or 1100 in all.

Gen. Shelby in his official report admits the loss of 150 men in this expedition, and claims to have arrived at Washington with about 1200 men. Every man who saw his command in line, as we did at Syracuse, Marshall and Miami, knows that it then largely outnumbered Gen. Brown's entire force, as counting every man in the battle of Marshall, Gen. Brown had as follows: Lazear, 500; Kelly, 200; Gentry and Wear, 320; Philips about 800; total, 1820.

Gen. Ewing was never nearer than 50 miles of the Marshall fight. Not long ago, one of Gen. Shelby's admirers, was claiming for him, in his presence, it is said, that he was crushed by a superior force at Marshall, but the gallant ex-rebel grimly said: "Boys, it was Missourian against Missourian and man to man in that fight, and we were d—d badly whipped, and the less said about it by us, the better."

Shelby's method of marching was peculiar to himself. While his rear guard was moving, his advance guard slept and fed, so that one-third of his command was resting and getting something to eat while the other two-thirds were moving. Another device he adopted, was that of taking oats in the bundle from the stacks in the fields near the road, and directing each man to carry a bundle of grain, with heads extended back of him, so that the horse behind him would eat it as he walked along, while his own horse was eating in the same manner from the bundle in front of him.

The road where they marched was thus strewn with oats until it looked like an old time barnyard threshing ground. At the camp fires where we struck them, we found many ramrods with long strings of half baked dough curled around them, and as we passed Marshall, after our fight there, as above described, I remember seeing one poor fellow who had been shot down by the fire, who held in his lifeless hand, his ramrod and a long string of half baked dough twisted around it, his last meal in the army.

Moving thus as he did in front of us, on the same roads, Shelby was enabled, by such a system, to sweep the country clean as he went of everything in the shape of food, forage and horses, notwithstanding our close and unremitting pursuit, while we were compelled to follow as best we could. We could not leave the road directly behind him for fear of his escape from us, so that while his men were constantly remounted on fresh horses, we followed on the faithful, but tired animals we started on. The result was that he could both outmarch and outrun our commands, and while he was foraging in our front, we were compelled to follow him on jaded horses, through an exhausted country.

When we took the field, the troops in Gen. Brown's district were stationed over a territory 120 miles square, with no railroad facilities west of Sedalia, and only one line to that point, which was destroyed by the burning of the Lamine bridge.

In seven days we were concentrated, marched over 300 miles, without forage, rations, or camp equipage, three days and nights in rain and mud, and in that time we killed and wounded a large number of the enemy, captured about 100 prisoners, one piece of artillery, all of his wagon train, small arms and ammunition; and our skirmishing and fighting extended over 100 miles of thickly wooded country. If it had been in Virginia or Tennessee it would have been called one of the great campaigns of the civil war, and thus passed into history.

Gen. Brown, Cols. Philips and Lazear, Majors Foster, Suess, Houts, Kelly, Gentry, Mullins, McGhee, and all the other officers in Brown's brigade, were constantly on duty and shared every hardship with their brave men.

Of the gallant boys who followed our guidons to victory in this campaign, no better or braver soldiers ever fought in any war at any time in the world's history. I recall with pride their matchless courage and endurance, for truly they were a magnificent body of fighting men, and such was the opinion of every soldier who ever saw them or who ever

served with them. And what is true of the command of Gen. Brown, is equally so of the brave officers and men led by those tried and valiant soldiers, Generals Ewing and McNeil. Ewing chased Shelby from the southwestern part of Johnson county, Missouri, nearly to the Arkansas river, aided by McNeil, and together they undoubtedly killed, wounded and captured more of the rebel forces than we did, although they never could force Shelby to another fight like that at Marshall, as he well knew that his demoralized and dispirited troops could never survive another such a defeat.

It is hard to correctly estimate Shelby's losses in this campaign, as the fighting was so continuous as well as rapid and spread over such a wide area of thinly inhabited country. It was evidently far greater than ever reported by either side, and doubtless Shelby never knew the full extent of it. It is certain that the worn, exhausted, starved and half demented men who followed him out of Missouri, bore but little resemblance to the elated and dashing troopers who came in with him. The small losses, even so far as reported on both sides, were due to the fact that all the troops engaged on both sides were cavalry, in rapid movement, and so it was difficult to aim as correctly as in infantry and artillery duels. Shelby and his brave men proved themselves to be warriors well "worthy of our steel" in this great expedition. By it Shelby himself earned a place in history, properly, alongside of Stuart, Forrest, Morgan and other great leaders of cavalry on the Confederate side. And on our side such regimental and battalion commanders as Philips, Wear, Lazear, Foster, Houts, Suess, Kelly, Gentry, Mullins, McGhee and King and the gallant officers and men they led to victory against Shelby would have delighted the heart of that greatest of all cavalry leaders the world has yet seen, Sheridan, could they have served under him.

Foster, it always seemed to me, in a wider field, would have been a cavalry general like Gregg, Torbert or Merritt, while Houts would have equalled such generals as Custer in dash and courage, and excelled them in judgment.

I trust you will pardon me in thus referring to my two comrades with whom it was my privilege to serve in the Twenty-seventh, and this reference here is made to them especially because it seems to me an appropriate time and place for such a well earned tribute. Of Foster, Suess and Houts, Col. Philips said, "The service has not in it a nobler trio than my three majors."

It is hard for strangers and young people to realize, in this day of almost complete railroad facilities, in central and southwestern Missouri, the isolated and sparsely settled condition of that same region in 1863. This is the real reason why Shelby was not surrounded and captured. In the Missouri of today no such raids as Shelby's in 1863 would be possible in war time.

When the heroic life of our beloved commander, the greatest soldier the world has produced, Ulysses S. Grant, was ebbing away at Mount McGregor, in 1885, these prophetic words came from his pen: "I feel that we are on the eve of a new era, when there is to be great harmony between the Federal and Confederate. I can not stay to be a living witness to the correctness of this prophecy, but I feel it within me that it is to be so. The universally kind feeling expressed for me at a time when it was supposed that each day would prove my last, seemed to me the beginning of the answer to 'Let us have peace.'"

This prophecy has long been fulfilled in Missouri. Prominent ex-Confederate soldiers have repeatedly and publicly stated that the Confederate Home enterprise would not have succeeded, but for the early and cordial encouragement and support given it by the Union soldiers in this state.

In 1894, during the labor troubles, Col. Philips was, as now, the United States Judge for the Western District of Missouri, and Gen. Jo. Shelby was, as now, the United States Marshal for the same district. The able and fearless Philips was the first Judge in the United States to issue an order restraining mob violence and interference with the movement of railway trains engaged in interstate commerce, and Gen.

Shelby took the field, executed the order, and raised the blockade in his territory, with that grim celerity and activity which always characterized his military movements, and he was the first United States Marshal to so act. For this purpose he deputized as marshals a picked corps selected from survivors of his old brigade, with an equal number of ex-Union veterans.

When the Governor of Missouri, during this disturbance, inquired of Shelby what he was doing at Slater, a division on the Chicago and Alton railroad in Saline county not far from Marshall, the gallant ex-rebel promptly and tersely replied, that he was there in the service of the United States, suppressing a mob and moving delayed railroad trains. The Governor subsided, and Shelby continued with unabated vigor until his work was accomplished. For this important and valuable public service, Judge Philips and Marshal Shelby received especial commendation from President Cleveland, and in thus expressing himself the President was supported by law-abiding people everywhere irrespective of party lines or past affiliations. Thus did the blue and the gray unite in the defense of a re-united country and rally around "the flag that makes you free," and thus it will ever be. For we, and those who are to follow us on the stage of active life, will never forget our priceless heritage of freedom, whose foundations were laid broad and deep in this fair land, and cemented by the blood and tears of our forefathers, and we, and those who are to come after us, should ever remember that our indestructible nation "must and shall be preserved," and also that as Americans "united, we need fear no foreign foe."

Beloved comrades, our ranks are thinning yearly, and even now we often hear that we "linger superfluous on the stage," but while we do live, let our firm resolve be, to keep up these annual reunions until the last man in our two regimental associations is "mustered out" on earth. For, in the days to come, our little bronze buttons will be more highly prized than even now, as they represent to the wearer an heroic epoch in American history in which it was given to him

to bear an active and honorable part, and of all the gallant hosts in blue who met, grappled with, and overthrew the twins of slavery and secession on this continent, a generation ago, there were no better or braver men, than the two regiments of Missouri soldiers, whose memories we here cherish.

And, as the years recede and our members decrease, our bond of union will become stronger until, when reunited at last, on the far side of the shining river, all present, and all accounted for, we meet to part no more, to pass in proud review before the 'Great White Throne.'

GEO. S. GROVER.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON AS SEEN BY A WOMAN.

It was war time in the land, and Missouri was feeling the stir of the situation throughout all her bounds. In the little town of Lexington on the river there was, in the early months of 1861, an eager impulse towards matters military, without however, any pronounced feeling of taking the side of either the North or South in the then undetermined policies of the two sections. Still, militancy in any direction was so pronounced that companies were formed, and our inexperienced eyes made acquainted with the stirring evolutions of the army drill. Later, and when further developments had set definite bounds to bent and affiliation, the men who formed these early half-play companies parted company, some to enlist under the stars and bars, others loyal to the stripes. The place of this first military practice was the wide and beautiful campus of the old Masonic College; and the drills were conducted by Capt. George Wilson, an ex-officer of the U. S. army, and Major Arnold, of the Virginia Military Institute.

Time ran on into May of that year when occurred the tragedy of Camp Jackson, in St. Louis, when some raw recruits under Gen. Lyon fired upon a crowd of citizens without known provocation, killing a young woman, a boy, and wounding some others. This act set the State in a flame of feeling, with the result that an immediate alignment was made for one side or the other about to enter upon the great modern tragedy of the war between the States. Small Confederate flags began to be displayed from private residences, and the old flag was set afloat to the winds from all public buildings of the town. A month of this and Gov. Claibourne F. Jackson named Lexington a place of military rendezvous, and soon after the middle of that month came Gen. Sterling Price at the head of the newly-formed State Guards, and with him Governor Jackson. Then began the organization of com-

panies and regiments, and the buckling on of such accouterments of war as a hitherto peaceful people could muster from the country's store of bird guns, turkey and deer rifles, and such side arms as belong to times of peace. "Old Sacramento," a twelve-pound brass cannon—a relic of the Mexican war, and which had been used here time out of mind as a reliable noisemaker for Fourth of July antics—was the heaviest piece of ordnance we had acquaintance with up to that time, and furnished the largest show of preparation going forward; and the old gun remained staunch to the end of the four years of conflict, being always in Col. Hi Bledsoe's battery, and his confidence-holding Sweetheart of utter faithfulness to the last. It has been told that he more than once, after an especially satisfactory deadliness of his gun, would throw his arms around the brass body and set his lips to it fondly. With the running out of the last week of June went also General Price and the Governor, with what of men and military supplies had been here gathered up. This left us with no other signs of what had been but the many small home-made Confederate flags still made to show from the homes of those who affiliated with the South. These remained only until Stifel, following close upon Gen. Price's going, came at the head of a regiment of foreigners, some of whom spoke English not at all, to take possession of the place as a fixed-for-the-war military post. When the transport bringing this regiment showed her smokestacks abreast of Gratz Bluff all Confederate bunting quickly faded from sight, save and alone one small flag which, from the time of Virginia's secession, had been proudly flouting the world from a pole set on the lawn of the Dr. E. G. Arnold home on the corner of Broadway and Third streets. Broadway was the then thoroughfare from the levees up into the town, and when Stifel's debarked troop had come abreast of the Confederate colors the line was moved up to surround the group of women who stood on the lawn in intent curiosity as to this next phase of military procedure. Ignorance of the meaning of war was at that time, and for us all, of the profoundest; and certainly the very young woman owning the

flag never doubted her right to show it upon her own premises at her pleasure, besides holding an idea of the largeness and liberal protectiveness of all masculinity called "man" in a way befitting Eden, alone.

But here she found herself amazingly confronted by a body of folk hostile and threatening, with guns and bayonets, who made threats to her as she stood upon her own ground, and demanded that she surrender to them her flag—the flag of her native State. Such an unflawed confidence in civilized man's attitude towards womanhood it is just as well to record, since it is now gone from us forever, though, at that time, held as an unquestioned truth by all women of the old South.

The young woman refused him the flag, of course, and when one man moved to take it from the low staff she ran to take it into her own hands. So she faced the regiment with the statement of her right, as a woman and citizen of a free country and state, to hold and defend her convictions and her property on her own freehold of earth. Amusing enough in the light of later events, but nevertheless the universal feeling of a large section of the country at that time; we of the old South being yet of the chivalric age of knighthood in so much that the rest of the world had left behind. But Stifel rode away with the offending little colors as well as with the young husband of the rash bride of a few months, who owned them. This even rasher young husband came rushing into the fray with his bird gun, with the intent to so lay low the enemy; the young wife then let fall the flag in order to grasp and lower the hand holding the gun, and so it was picked up, distinctly not captured, by a soldier, and carried away.

Stifel established headquarters at Masonic College, where he was soon joined by Lieut. Col. White with his regiment. By the last of August five companies of militia and two battalions of the First Illinois cavalry, under Col. Marshall, had been added to the army of occupation. After the coming of Col. Marshall he inaugurated the felling of the splendid grove of primeval oaks and elms on the College campus and the surrounding hills; and the making of the first earthworks was begun.

Early in September underground information was given us that Gen. Price, with a much enlarged army, would soon be back to Lexington on an errand militant, and for the purpose further of getting into possession supplies of ammunition and arms, of which the Confederates, or more correctly, the State Guards, of the southern wing, were in need. In preparation for this event Col. Mulligan came near the first of the month to reinforce the garrison with the Twenty-third Illinois infantry, called throughout the war the Mulligan Irish Brigade. Col. Mulligan began at once the construction of intricate military entrenchments, and to add to the earthworks formed by Col. Marshall. A cavalry charge would be possible only from the east side, the college, now a citadel, being set upon a height and protected by steep declivities on all other sides, so that here was digged a perfect checkerboard of pits, disguised sufficiently to entrap the unwary. A mine was also set in that direction for added security. While all this was being done there came in Major Van Horn and Col. Peabody with their commands, these soldiers being of the regular army. By this time information of the movements of the rapidly approaching army from the south was easy of access. Gen. Price's advance was already encamped upon the county fair grounds, about a mile from town, and the thin line of Federal pickets was no stay to the adventurous who might wish to go out. While Gen. Price waited at the fair grounds for the coming up of his ammunition wagons Col. Mulligan continued to strengthen his defences. During these days of waiting continual skirmishing went on between the soldiers in town and small squads of those outside. The Southerners, becoming impatient of delay, daily came dashing into town in small groups to give an exchange of shots and out again. In one of these daring and useless exploits I saw a friend go down, unhorsed, wounded by bayonets as he lay on the ground. This was Mr. Withrow. He was sent from here to St. Louis, and died of his wounds in Gratiot street prison.

And now came the 17th of the month, when proclamation was made to the citizens that their undoubted safety lay in

the direction of a temporary abandonment of their homes. So there went out from the town an army of women and children, to take refuge in country houses in numbers sufficient to tax the hospitality of these to the utmost.

By the middle of the forenoon of Wednesday, the 18th, the stars and bars floating within the city limits, and the strains of Dixie came ringing clear through the gold of the perfect day. I needed to go but a single square from my father's residence--the Arnold home of the earlier flag episode--to look up the extent of Main street, and this I did so soon as I caught the sound of Dixie. What I saw there was an army without any pretense of uniform of any kind, but moving in orderly precision into some determined-upon position. This was Gen. Parson's line, drawn along Main street. Gen Rains' division took position on the east of the college, with Bledsoe's battery. Gen Slack's column was extended along the west side, joining that of Gen. Parson on the south. I think that Guibor's battery was moved about from place to place from time to time, as it was stationed near the intersection of Third and Tenth streets this first day, but went to Gen. Parson's division the next day, then back again west afterwards. On the morning of the second day of the investment Gen. Harris and Gen. McBride completed the cordon by placing their lines along the north, on the river front. This line was supported throughout by Kelley's and Kneisley's batteries. Until the last of the three days of the siege Bledsoe's battery was under the command of Emmet McDonald, Col. Bledsoe being hors de combat from illness, but on the last day he was again with his guns. Gen. Steen's division, with Congreve Jackson's force of Clark's division, while held as reserves were all the time in active service in one quarter or another of the field.

As I stood looking upon the line on Main street take position, the first day of the entry, a friend, Charley Wallace, said on seeing me there, "What are you doing in town? You would better go to shelter at once, as we are about to fight, right away."

At this time Guibor's battery was stationed at the inter-

section of Third and Tenth streets, only three squares from the Arnold residence, and the admonition to go find shelter sent me to the crossing two squares above the battery's place; from which very advantageous position I witnessed what went on at that part of the field while the siege lasted.

Almost on the heels of Lieut. Wallace's "We are to fight now, right away," was opened the first thunder of the guns. The noise of the firing was heavier this first day than at any time until the hour just before the surrender, and was heard at Carrollton, thirty miles away; also heard with such effect by Gen. Sturgis as he was marching to Mulligan's relief on the north of the river, that he turned his column and marched away again. Very shortly after shot and shell began the hoarse noise of war in earnest, there came the need for surgeons and nurses, and while this battle has been called an almost bloodless one this is true only in the light of what came later, when the loss of life made a new world record of what man could do to man in deadly strife. In the light of civilization the battle of Lexington, Missouri, was sufficiently red. Many of those killed lie here sleeping the last long sleep, others were removed by kindred when the war was over.

The family residence of Col. Oliver Anderson stood in such proximity to the college grounds on the west that it was, from the time of the first occupancy of the college, taken into use as a hospital. The last outer entrenchments in that direction met Mrs. Anderson's flower garden, the house being so situated that the upper windows almost overlooked the interior of the works. Thus, its advantage meant so much to the Confederates that a running assault was determined upon, with the hope to make its capture without the firing of a gun. This use of arms could not be resorted to since the house was used as a hospital, so a sufficiently heavy column from the division of Gen. Harris was ordered to the assault, if this could be done without too heavy a loss of life, the assaulting column not to be allowed to respond to the fire from the building. The men took the chances, making the charge most gallantly, but with losses, of course. The building was held but a few

hours only, and until a counter charge was prepared from the citadel. This assault was heralded by the sharp cracking of Minie rifles, some of which sent the dreaded Minie balls to the desired end, so that there were wounded Southerners in the building when retaken later by the Irish. When this charge of the Irish Brigade was made I was standing at my post of observation, the middle of Third street, a position overlooking the Anderson house, the long line of earthworks behind it, and the beseiging column on the west. I think it was between one and two o'clock when I took up, on this day, my post of observation. I had been there but a very short time when a double line of human forms appeared on top of the embankment rushed over, followed by the serried ranks of others, all firing upon the house as they hurtled down upon it. And how they fell! some of them, on the way, and lay there amongst the flowers of the garden until all was over and the bodies could be moved. And how they yelled as they charged! It was a daring and brilliant sortie. We were told afterwards that these men were made very drunk before they could be sent out. Let this be believed, because of their after acts. The recapture of the building was so quickly accomplished that the dislodged Confederates were forced to leave behind some disabled comrades. These was nothing for it but to think that the gentle treatment accorded the sick they found in house would be returned to their own. Vain trust! But one escaped the crimson fury of that hour—Capt. Tip Manser. He, when the massacre began drew the edge of the blanket covering one of the Federals over himself, and so passed for one of the enemy. All others suffered death in one way or another. About two hours more and the place was again in possession of the Confederates. When the again victorious besiegers poured into the house it was to find those they had so lately left there dead, murdered really. One man had both eyes ground quite out his head, and the handsome, the gallant young Fayette Quarles, of Richmond, showed both hands with gaping holes through the palms, having been ground through by bayonets. Whether these injuries were inflicted before they were killed

or not can never be known, but the then supposition was that this was the case. The night of this sad day was a lurid one. Hot shell sent from the entrenchments had started fires in three or more quarters, and as night fell these flamed and spread, luridly reddening the sky, and turning a new dread loose upon the town.

The cannonading on Thursday, the 19th, was comparatively light; but a ceaseless sharp cracking of rifles went on throughout the day. The possessors of those squirrel rifles, hidden behind every available tree, stump, or elevated ground, did deadly work whenever a human target inside appeared within range. Some of this was done from the vantage of tree limbs, which many men climbed, and sat at ease to watch their opportunity. This practice must have been more galling to the besieged than had been the cannonading, for when all was over, and an account gained of the happenings inside, we heard that, on this day, many hasty and shallow burials were made after nightfall. Certainly, in going about the place long afterwards, when deserted by both armies, I came upon a human foot pathetically protruding from a grave so shallow that it appeared to be only earth heaped shallowly upon a body placed on ground untouched by a spade.

At twilight of this day some men of Gen. Harris' division inaugurated the beginning of the end by bringing from the warehouses of McGrew, Anderson and Sedwick the hempbales with which movable breastworks were to be made on the tomorrow. All along Gen. Price had refused to order an assault on the defences, though advised to this by his staff. "It is unnecessary to kill off the boys here," he said. "Patience will give us what we want." So he quietly awaited the event.

The men of the hempbale strategy slept that night behind their moveable defences, and early next morning operations which brought about the surrender began. While Bledsoe's battery, he himself being in charge now, thundered away east in a way to rip open the walls of the old collegians' boarding house, and tear great holes in the walls of the one-time halls

of learning, the men on the west went quietly on up the bluff behind the rolled hemp bales. It was not long, however, until a heavy fire was drawn upon these movable breastworks, but with little effect. On they came, crawling, as implacable as fate, and when the day was run on towards the morning's close the end came. The Confederates were inside the defenses; the white flag of surrender was run up over the citadel, and a shout to reach the heavens was shouting from a thousand throats.

Upon the surrender all the ranking officers conducting the defense were found to be suffering from wounds. Lieut. Col. White, handsome, debonair gentleman, had been shot through the lungs, and died a few years afterwards. Col. Mulligan received only a slight wound in one arm, and was not much disabled from the effects. Still, upon paroling him, Gen. Price put his private carriage at his disposal to drive to Warrensburg, where railroad transportation was to be had. But Mulligan refused a parole, as he had no wish to remain long inactive, and chose to be accounted prisoner awaiting exchange. It was much the same thing, however, as Gen. Price with his wife took him to Warrensburg in his carriage, and I think, turned him loose there on his word of honor. There was a general parole on the terms of no future service against the South, not a man being held as prisoner. In some instances, where the men captured were citizens of the town they were laughingly handed over to their wives to be kept out of future mischief.

Only a very few years ago when an extension of Central college was going forward, (the old Masonic college is now Central college, a school for girls) two skeletons were exhumed. These were of bodies shallowly interred, and undoubtedly belonged to men killed in that long-gone day of the sharpshooters' deadly aim. It is probable that others still are left there, under the tread of school girl feet; but, like Omar's voice for Bahram, "That can not break their sleep."

SUSAN A. ARNOLD McCAUSLAND.

DANIEL BOONE.

It has been said that a greater number of biographies of Daniel Boone have been given to the public, than of George Washington. It is by no means improbable that a greater number of biographies have been penned concerning him than of any other single American, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln, not counting the innumerable sketches, miscellaneous and fugitive articles which have been written from time to time, about this singular character. Certainly, this is a remarkable tribute to any individual, and forcefully illustrates how firm is the grasp which the story of his life has obtained upon the popular mind. The writer hereof, possesses and has read, not less than ten biographies of Daniel Boone, of varying degrees of merit, and the majority of them have told much the same story, and oftentimes in much the same way. Yet singularly enough, but one of his numerous biographers, has correctly stated the date of his birth, (1) while among some of them as much discrepancy prevails relative to other historic facts, as that which prevails regarding the date of his entrance into the world. They have been content to "fringe an inch of fact with acres of conjecture." The writer, therefore, who would give to his readers as accurately and impartially as it can now be done, the story of his life, would confer upon his countrymen a lasting benefit, and give to the world a book in which he might say of his hero, in the language of the immortal Shakespeare:

"Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read;
And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
When all the breathers of this world are dead;
You still shall live,—such virtue has my pen,—
Where breath most breathes—even in the mouths of men."

1. John S. C. Abbott.

The name of Daniel Boone has so long been familiar to my ear and eye, that I, like many others have come to regard everything pertaining to his life as of importance, provided it be founded upon fact. A new chapter, therefore, concerning him, may not be lacking in interest to those who are, or are not familiar with the story of his life; and I trust I may be pardoned for adding yet another chapter to the many which others have given to the public touching his life. Some of my ancestors both upon the paternal and maternal side, were long and intimately associated with this famous pioneer, and shared with him the perils and the glory of subduing the wilderness, and of converting the hunting grounds of the Indians to the more useful purposes of civilization. Because of this association the life of Boone has ever possessed more than passing interest to me, and I have ever loved to trace the winding footsteps of these sturdy old pioneers through their fortunes and misfortunes; their victories and defeats. My great grandfather, William Bryant, followed closely upon the path of Boone from North Carolina to Kentucky, where he caused to be erected amid the primeval solitudes, the most celebrated of all the pioneer Kentucky forts or blockhouses, known in history as Bryant's Station and which was located in Lafayette county, about five miles northeast of Lexington. His name and the name of the station which he built (in 1779), have frequently been mentioned in the histories and the various lives of Boone. (2)

It is, however, of another event with which Daniel Boone was connected, and also an ancestor of the writer hereof on the maternal side that I would now speak, and of which I have

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2. History of Kentucky, Humphrey Marshall.
 History of Kentucky, Mann Butler.
 History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.
 Sketches of Western Adventure, John A. McClung.
 Chronicles of Border Warfare, A. S. Withers (new ed. Thwaites).
 Life of Boone, Timothy Flint.
 Life of Boone, G. Canning Hill.
 Life of Boone, John S. C. Abbott.
 Border Boy, Wm. H. Bogart.
 Life of Boone, C. B. Hartley.

seen no account in history, but the facts herein detailed are preserved in a manuscript history and genealogy of the Inman family of Tennessee. (3)

About the year 1767, a party of explorers left their homes in North Carolina to visit the vast and almost wholly unknown region lying west of the Cumberland mountains. This party was led by Daniel Boone, who, even at that early period had established a well deserved reputation for daring, and a consummate knowledge of woodcraft. In this company were three brothers who bore the scriptural names of Shadrach Inman, Meshack Inman and Abednego Inman, the first of whom was a great grandfather of the writer hereof. In due season they crossed the mountain ranges lying in their path of travel, and winter soon swept down upon them. For days they pushed forward through deep snows. They had little or no food during this time, for that which they had brought with them had been exhausted. They were therefore compelled to depend upon such game for their subsistence as they could bring down with their rifles, and killing game at that season of the year was not always easily accomplished. When they had arrived near the central part of the present state of Tennessee, and were encamped near a cave, probably the famous Nick-a-Jack cave, they were surprised and attacked one night by Indians. Being asleep at the time of the attack, and not having taken the precaution to post sentinels, nearly all the little band of adventurers were either killed or wounded. Among the slain was Meshack Inman. Among the wounded were Shadrach Inman and his brother, Abednego Inman. The former received a wound in the side from a spear, which weapon is still in existence and in the possession of one of his descendants. Abednego Inman received a wound in the forehead from an Indian tomahawk, leaving a scar which he carried for the remainder of his life, but surviving his wound, he placed himself in hiding in a large hollow tree, where he remained for nine days without food and with but little water, at the end of which period he was so far recovered as to be able to leave his strange

habitation, and eventually and with extreme difficulty, to make his way back to his home in North Carolina. The company was thus broken up and dispersed, and the expedition abandoned. Among the number of those who escaped were Boone and Shadrach Inman. Boone on account of his superior skill in woodcraft and knowledge of Indian wiles, escaped unharmed and returned home. The Indians pursued him keenly through the dense forest, but like a fleeting shadow he eluded them, and led the few survivors of his little company safely back to their homes.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, our brave adventurers were not to be diverted from their purpose of exploring and taking possession of a portion of the soil of Tennessee, for some of them returned to the locality at a later date, and established homes there, while Boone with other kindred spirits, among whom was William Bryant, established themselves in the wilds of Kentucky, at Booneborough and Bryant's Station.

Shadrach Inman, above named, settled in Jefferson County, Tennessee, and was a Revolutionary officer, his commission as Lieutenant being dated May 4, 1774, and his commission as Captain being dated January 5, 1777. These commissions are in the possession of one of his descendants, Mrs. Mamie Inman Watkins, of Macomb City, Miss. Shadrach Inman is said to have been a highly energetic and patriotic citizen, and one of the best known and most highly respected men of Jefferson county, where he lived and died. He married in North Carolina, Mary Jane McPheeters, whose mother, Mary Jane McDowell, was a sister of John McDowell, some time Governor of North Carolina. (4) He owned a valuable plantation on the Nolachucky river, together with many negro

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4. In the pioneer History of Kentucky we also find the names of McDowell and McPheeters associated together; for we read in the life of Boone that on the 27th of March, 1775, he found the bodies of Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPheeters, who had been killed and scalped by the Indians. See—
Life of Boone, (Border Boy), W. H. Bogart, p. 121.
Life of Boone, C. B. Hartley, p. 95.
Life of Boone, J. S. C. Abbott, p. 126.
Life of Boone, G. Canning Hill, p. 95.

slaves, a number of which he bequeathed to his wife and children by his last will. One of his sons, Captain Shadrach Inman, Jr., was also a Revolutionary officer, and was killed in the battle of Musgrove's Mill, South Carolina, August 19, 1780, while gallantly leading a charge against the British, and against a greatly superior force. He died fighting hand to hand with the enemy, and his conduct in this action has been highly commended by several historians, (5) and his loss was deeply regretted.

One of the daughters of Captain Shadrach Inman, senior, Susannah Inman, married in Tennessee, in 1802, Thomas Chilton. They removed to Southeastern Missouri, during the territorial era of that State, and from them are descended many of the Chiltons of that section of the country. Numerous members of this family of Chiltons have represented various counties of Southeastern Missouri in the State Legislature, covering a long period of time, and there have been not a few notable namés in other branches of the family in the history of the Southern states of our country.

It is not too much to say that the name of Daniel Boone is a household word throughout the length and breadth of the land. His career appeals to the readers of history with a fascination that is little less than marvelous. His fame, instead of growing dimmer year by year, has continued to increase and to shine with brighter effulgence with the flight of time. In truth, some writers, in their efforts to garnish the life of this famous frontiersman, have deemed nothing of importance or worth the while, except as it would subserve the purpose of enlarging the measure of his fame. But the writer who fails to observe proper respect for historical accuracy, is likely to find that he has magnified his hero to such proportions that but little semblance to the real man remains; that he has become, in the lurid imaginings of the writer, instead of a real personage, clothed with human attributes, merely a fan-

5. Wheeler's History of North Carolina.
Ramsay's Annals of Tennessee.
King's Mountain and its Heroes, Dr. L. C. Draper.

tastic and grotesque figure. The simple story of his life truthfully told, is all-sufficient, without aid from the pen of the romancer who would portray him, not as he was, but as imagination would depict him. Mere mention of the name of Daniel Boone serves to recall the names of many of his contemporaries who would long ago have slipped into undeserved forgetfulness, were it not for the name and fame of this world renowned pioneer. His likeness is now a sort of composite photograph in which are blended the features of nearly all who were associated with him in the great westward movement of his age, and in the portrait of Boone we catch the dim and confused likeness of many another heroic character whose personality was as conspicuous as that of Boone himself. In truth the universality of his fame has served to lift from obscurity into notoriety many, who, otherwise would now be reposing in some neglected spot of earth with the grim specter whom we call Oblivion, keeping watch above their place of rest. Not that all of them, by any means, would have been overtaken by such fate. For there were numerous persons among his contemporaries and associates, whose services were as conspicuous (and more so) than those of Boone, who might well be left to stand upon their own individual merit. Yet herein, is one singular feature in connection with the fame of this unique character, it is remarkable that the fame of Boone should so far transcend that of hosts of others who had equal if not superior claims to recognition than Boone himself.

Surpassed as he was by many, in actual achievement and intellectual attainment, yet there are few names in the long list of America's eminent men that outshine in luster the name of Daniel Boone. As a commander, he was not to be compared with General Washington or General George Rogers Clarke, of Colonel Benjamin Logan, or others of even lesser note than these. As an empire-builder, he did not take rank with James Robertson or John Sevier, or Colonel Richard Henderson. As an explorer and pathfinder, there were other brave spirits who heralded the advance of Boone into the western wilderness. As a statesman, he performed no ser-

vice that would entitle him to remembrance. The gift of moving men by the power of speech was denied him, and he neither invited nor repelled the conversation of others. As a scholar he won no honors and obtained no prizes, except in the wide school of Nature.

Yet, notwithstanding all these things, the fame of this kind-hearted and pathetic but heroic character has transcended that of nearly every other man of his own or of any other age of the history of the country.

How did it happen? This question can not be fully and successfully answered in many words or in few. Yet it can not be said that the verdict of the popular mind is not just, or that his fame is of greater proportions than it should be. There were so many incidents in his career to appeal to the masses, and to touch the heart-strings of humanity, that he is now, and will long continue to be a wonderful personality. He stands upon a pedestal, high above the common throng. He has gained for himself in the hearts of his countrymen a niche, little less enduring than the Wilderness Road or Cumberland Gap; as lasting as the history of Kentucky and Missouri; as immeasurable as the volume of the Ohio or the Mississippi.

The life of Boone may well be studied to the pleasure and profit of American youth, and by all others who delight to con the lessons of sublime courage and fortitude, to be drawn from the lives of Boone and his associates. When we contemplate the reverses of fortune which overtook him, and which seemed to pursue him to the end; the loss of his eldest son while yet a youth, at the hands of Indians, when first setting out from North Carolina, to plant a colony in Kentucky; the loss of a brother, killed by Indians, while hunting in company with himself; the siege of the fort which he built, and which he successfully defended against the assaults of bloodthirsty savages; the capture of one of his daughters and her companions by Indians, and their rescue by Boone and a number of his friends; his own capture by the Indians, and adoption with their usual pomp and ceremony as a member of one of their tribes; his participation in the defense of Bryant's Station, when besieged

by Indians in August, 1782; the loss of another son fighting by his side in the battle of the Blue Licks, which battle was but the bloody sequel to the siege of Bryant's Station; the loss of a brother-in-law, also slain by Indians while hunting in company with William Bryant and others; and finally, as a culmination of his sorrows, the loss of his lands in Kentucky and Missouri, which he had hazarded and given so much to secure, on account of informalities; and thus turned forth, as it were, at an age when most men long to be free from the turmoils of life and the hardships of the pioneer—these misfortunes would have embittered the soul of most men. But a careful pursual of the history of his life and a somewhat careful inquiry in the realm of tradition, fails to reveal that such was the case. Bravely and uncomplainingly he went his way, and to the end he was the same silent and unperturbed spirit; and he died, as he had lived, in the vanguard of civilization, and where mighty forests, abounding with game, were always within easy reach. To the end he was smiling and serene, and resigned to the will of Providence, for his faith was simple and child-like. His last days were spent in fashioning with loving hands various articles as mementos for relatives and friends, and an occasional hunting trip until age and failing eyesight forced him to remember that he was no longer young, and that he must bid adieu to the pursuits of his earlier days. Dreaming little, and caring less, how wide was to be the measure of his fame, he sinks at last into the arms of Mother Earth, like one "who wraps the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Two States now claim the honor of affording a final resting place for all that was mortal of Daniel Boone, and all his countrymen share alike the legacy of his fame.

THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES IN MISSOURI.

The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society was incorporated by the legislature of New York, the objects of the society being "to acquire by purchase, gift, grant, devise, or bequest, historic objects or memorable or picturesque places in the state or elsewhere in the United States, hold real estate and personal property in fee or upon such lawful trusts as may be agreed upon between the donors thereof and said corporation, and to improve the same," and it was provided that its property should be exempt from taxation in the state of New York,

The society made its sixteenth report to the legislature of New York last year, and this report includes views taken not only in the United States, but also in various parts of the world. However, only a local organization can give the necessary attention to the localities and objects to be found in the state, and Missouri has within its bounds places worthy of the attention of its legislature or of a society similar to that mentioned in New York.

Many will no doubt be surprised to know that Bayard Taylor said, "I have traveled all over the world, to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery human eye has ever beheld." In this statement he referred to a place in Camden county that was then known as Gunter Spring, was afterwards purchased by Robert M. Snyder, of Kansas City, the name changed to Ha Ha Tonka, and improvements were being made by Mr. Snyder at the time of his death. Of it Dr. Jenney, of the United States Geological Survey said that while he had spent the most of his life in the mountains of the west he had never found another locality that would furnish as many fine photographic views as this one does, and he spent quite a time there taking views for the government.

The combination of river, valley, bluffs, lake and mountain, with a spring issuing from the base of the cliff, and discharging one and a half million gallons of water a day; the lake containing ninety acres, being the largest one in the state; a cave to which access can be gained by a boat, landing one on dry ground at a distance from the entrance, where there is an onyx column thirty feet high and twenty-four feet in circumference; an amphitheater of perhaps an acre in extent surrounded by an elevated ridge having on one side a natural viaduct large enough that vehicles might drive through it, and strong enough that a railroad train might cross over it; at another place a natural bridge standing out very prominently over the surrounding ground; an island in the lake with its stories of bandits in years gone by living in its cave; other caves; the balanced rock; the Devil's Kitchen; all these and other things led Bayard Taylor to make the declaration he did, and of the truth of which very few in the state have now any conception.

An effort has been made to have the state purchase this tract of 5,400 acres and make "Ha Ha Tonka Park" a place for the practical application of the doctrine of conservation, one that would before long have a railroad made to give access to it, and at the same time develop the surrounding territory that is now waiting for this to aid in its improvement.

Other localities can be found along our rivers or in the Ozark mountains that would ornament parks to be made around them, and prevent their destruction or being spoiled for private gain.

The D. A. R.'s have been active in directing attention to and creating interest in the Boon's Lick and Santa Fe trails, and have succeeded in having the first cross state highway made along these trails, and also in getting from the legislature an appropriation to erect monuments along them.

During the civil war Missouri was the scene of many engagements and of some noted battles. Time has now so softened the angry feelings engendered by the war, that what were two sides would now welcome monuments in commemora-

tion of the valor of those who were then opposing each other.

The first one to be mentioned is the battle of Boonville, not because it was a great battle, but because it was the first land battle of the civil war. After the proclamation of Governor Jackson calling out fifty thousand state militia to drive the Federal forces out of Missouri Gen. Lyon with various military organizations embarked for Jefferson City. Jackson having fled from the capital Lyon continued up the river having been informed that Governor Jackson would make a stand at Boonville, with some 3000 state militia. His troops were landed on the south side a mile above Rocheport and about seven miles below Boonville. Between that point and Boonville the two forces became engaged, and after a number on each side had been killed and wounded the Confederates retreated, and the Federal forces occupied Boonville without further opposition. Afterwards an engagement in which only a score were killed did not attract much attention, but at the time this one took place it created much excitement because others had not preceded it.

One of the most severely contested engagements of the war, and the most important west of the Mississippi river up to the time at which it took place, August 10, 1861, was the battle of Wilson Creek, or as it was named by the Confederates, the battle of Oak Hill. After Governor Jackson and his forces had been driven from Central Missouri, the Missouri Confederates concentrated in the southwestern part of the state, where they were joined by Arkansas, Texas and other Confederate forces, and these all formed quite an army whose importance was generally not appreciated by those in authority. On the day of the battle the Union forces numbered some five thousand, while the Confederate force was at least twelve thousand.

The battle was hard fought and resulted in the retreat of the Union army after the death of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, the Union loss being two hundred and eighty-three killed and mortally wounded and others wounded 704. The Southern loss was 265 killed and 900 wounded. The spot where Lyon

fell and other points of interest on the battlefield should have monuments to mark them.

A Federal force under Col. Mulligan, stated by him to number 2700, was surrounded by several times that number of Confederates, and penned in a small space in and around the Masonic College at Lexington, in which provision had not been made for a supply of water. In twelve days of fighting, and with a regiment of 700 cavalymen with their horses, of no use in the defense, but helping to exhaust the supply of water, the last three days of which were of heavy fighting, and with many killed and wounded, the gallant Colonel was forced to surrender on September 20, 1861. The State Historical Society has an oil painting of this battle made by F. Dominico, a Hungarian exile, he having watched the progress of the battle for the purpose of making the painting. What was the Masonic College is now Central Female College at Lexington.

The battle of Westport, the "Gettysburg of the West," was fought October 21, 22 and 23, 1864, the first day being also called the "Battle of the Blue," the final fight being before the town of Westport. There were 29,000 men engaged in this battle, the largest in any battle fought west of the Mississippi river. The Confederacy was then on the wane, and this battle was the end of organized efforts in the state of Missouri by the Confederates.

Many other engagements were fought in Missouri, quite a number of them of the dignity of battles, and even the localities of actions of lesser moment should be marked.

The place of birth or other places connected with such natives of Missouri as Mark Twain and Eugene Field ought to be suitably marked.

In St. Louis many historic spots in the city have been marked with inscribed tablets on buildings now standing on the spots where some noted occurrences took place in time passed, and the further marking can be left to the public spirit of that city and its historical society.

Our adjoining states have not been idle in this commemo-

rating and preserving work of historic places Illinois has made into a park at a cost of \$246,000 a tract of 290 acres, including Starved Rock, on the Illinois river, the scene of Indian conflicts and early French exploits.

Kansas Club women have organized to help the State Historical Society of their state in its efforts to preserve historical relics, and also of "first things" in all of the counties. They have marked the spot of many battles, the Santa Fe Trail, the John Brown cabin, the first state capitol near Junction City, the historic Pawnee Rock, and the first house built in the different cities.

There is much similar work that should be done in Missouri, and the women can more quickly accomplish it than any others. Will they help the State Historical Society in this important matter?

F. A. SAMPSON.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.*

SIXTH PAPER.

The following data is from the Catholic cemetery at Boonville, Cooper county:

Mary R. wife of Michael Barron, born in Saint Lenard Co., Wexford, Ireland, died Mar. 17, 1870, aged 50 years.

Michael R. Barron, born in County Killkenney, Ireland, Oct. 14, 1800; came to America in 1848, and to Boonville in 1850; died Oct. 15, 1891.

Cathrina, wife of C. Biechele, born Oct. 2, 1837; died Sept. 22, 1872.

Eliza Mooney, wife of H. Bue died Apt. 5, 1872, aged 37 yrs, 7 mo. 17 dys.

Ann wife of Patrick Dalton, died Oct. 9, 1868, aged 28 yrs.

Maria Anna Darmstadt geb. Feb. 16, 1826; gest. Feb. 3, 1900.

Ignaze Diringer, born in Elsas, France, Aug. 10, 1804; died Apr. 8, 1872.

Magdalena Diringer, born in Elsas, France, Sept. 26, 1804; died July 25, 1875.

P. H. Donahue born June 22, 1829; died Mar. 16, 1904.

Maggie M. Donahue born Mar. 3, 1839; died Dec. 12, 1901.

Veit Eppstein born Feb. 15, 1828; died Mar. 7, 1902.

Anna K. Felten, wife of Hubert Felton died Feb. 9, 1904, aged 70 yrs, 9 mos. 26 ds.

Hubert, husband of Anna K. Felten, died July 12, 1889, aged 62 yrs, 11 mos. 24 ds.

Genovefa Fessler born in Forst Baden Gee 1811, died Mar. 16, 1885.

* With some additions this paper includes all inscriptions previous to 1876, and all later of persons more than 75 years old.

Franz Fessler born in Forst, Germany, 1804, died Oct. 23, 1881.
Anna S. Franken wife of Urban Franken, born Apr. 10, 1810;
died Sept. 30, 1879.

Mary T. wife of P. J. Franken, born Sept. 23, 1842; died June
11, 1871.

P. J. Franken born in Prussia, June 14, 1834; died Mar. 14,
1887.

John George Garthoffner born in Blankenborn, Rhein Bavaria,
Nov. 13, 1825; died May 13, 1873.

Andrew Gartner born Nov. 30, 1835; died Oct. 1890.

Katharine Gehsell, geb. Nov. 22, 1813; gest. July 7, 1858.

Ludwig Gehsell, geb. Aug. 24, 1809; gest. July 24, 1867.

Maydalena Glahn born in Prussia, Germany, 1798; died 1859.

F. Timothy Grathwohl gest. Oct. 7, 1871, 49 jahr.

Catharine wife of John Harrison died Dec. 19, 1873, aged 29
yrs 11 mo. 14 ds.

Adolph Hilden born in Longerich Aug. 15, 1811; died Sept. 16,
1890.

Henry Helfrich died Feb. 16, 1874, aged 34 yrs. 6 mos. 18 da.

George J. Hirsch born Apr. 6, 1834; died Apr. 17, 1903.

John Huber died July 25, 1885, aged 77 yrs, 7 mos. 11 ds.

Elizabeth Huber died Oct. 26, 1886, aged 79 yrs, 6 mos. 22 ds.

Catharine wife of F. J. Immele born Dec. 25, 1832; died Mar.
13, 1899.

F. J. Immele aged 84 yrs.

A. M. Immele aged 86 yrs.

J. J. Jennins born in Livingston Co., N. Y., Mar. 12, 1830, died
in Cooper Co., Mo. Aug. 20, 1877.

Elizabeth wife of Joseph Koenig born in Bonn, Germany, 1822;
married 1851; died Apr. 12, 1890.

Joseph Koenig born near Cologne, Prussia, Dec. 23, 1824; died
Mar. 5, 1896.

P. Kuntz died Mar. 9, 1867, aged 22 yrs. 6 mos.

Francis Kussman, born Aug. 15, 1837; died June 2, 1901.

Elizabeth Mabschand died Apr. 26, 1875, aged 81 yrs, 6 ms.

A. P. Mangold born Oct. 1, 1813; died Sept. 11, 1882.

Lora his wife born Nov. 28, 1818, died Feb. 9, 1883.

Hieronimus Meisel born in Karlsruhe, Baden, Germany, Feb. 23, 1830; died Sept. 20, 1882.

Elizabeth wife of H. Meisel born Jan. 2, 1830; died Dec. 24, 1892.

Monika wife of Joseph Mustetter born June 2, 1788; died Aug. 29, 1874 .

John Mustetter died Oct. 28, 1857, aged 2 mos.

Karl Mustetter died Jan. 11, 1860, aged 5 months.

Sylvester Mustetter died Jan. 26, 1865, aged 2 mos. 29 ds.

Victoria Mustetter died Meh 8, 186— aged 1 yr. 10 mos 9 ds.

Joseph Miller born Nov. 11, 1818; died Mar. 6, 1891.

Francis son of Patrick and Mary Mollahan died Aug. 30. 1872 aged about 35 yrs. Native of Ireland.

Christina wife of H. Oswald born Oct 12, 1841; died Mar. 10, 1893.

Herman Oswald born in Bavaria, Ger. Apr. 17, 1826; died Dec. 13, 1903.

Mary Jane wife of C. S. Prongue died July 30, 1869, aged 26 yrs 1 mo. 11 ds.

Michael son of G. & B. Schepperd died Nov. 15, 1871 aged 29 yrs 6 mos.

Thomas Sharp born in County Carlow, Ire. Dec. 25, 1824; died Apr. 8, 1898.

George Shepperd died Aug. 27, 1875, aged 72 yrs.

Catharine wife of John Smith born in Prussia, Jan. 19, 1806; died Nov. 25, 1886.

Frank Joseph Spaedy born Oct. 1809; died July, 1886.

Catharine Spaedy born May, 1810; died Dec. 1891.

Maria E. Weber geb. May Oct. 11, 1811 gest. Jan. 1880.

Johannah Westleman died Sept. 7, 1875, aged 67 yrs, 2 mo. 12 ds.

CASSVILLE, MISSOURI.

The following are from the cemetery at Cassville, Barry county:

Mary J. Barcas born Feb. 22, 1821; died Aug. 16, 1903.

- Warner Barcus born Aug. 23, 1814; died Oct. 18, 1898.
Lucy A. Beebe born Aug. 8, 1808; died Sept. 6, 1872.
Gilbert L. Carlin died June 8, 1869 aged 27 yrs. 1 mo 1 d.
Loys Grubb died Apr. 14, 1878 aged 64 yrs 3 mos 19 ds.
Elizabeth B. wife of P. M. Hodges and daughter of E. D. and N. Solomon, born Dec. 26, 1826; died Jan. 18, 1854.
James Holt born Dec. 14, 1822; died Nov 11, 1892.
John Ireland born Apr. 28, 1817; died May 13, 1862.
Catharine Logan born Jan 15, 1818; died Meh. 1, 1870.
John Logan born July 30, 1810; died Jan. 31, 1839.
James Long died Sept. 4, 1833, aged 55 years.
Littleberry Mason died July 3, 1852 aged 63 years.
Nancy Mason wife of Littleberry Mason born Jan. 28, 1804; died Sept. 13, 1883.
Wm. Owen died May 6, 1859, aged 62 yrs 4 mos 17 ds.
Margaret Ann C. D. wife of Jonathan Reed born May 4, 1830; died Aug. 1, 1886.
Jonathan Reed born Meh. 17, 1820; died Meh. 12, 1905.
Mary Ann Reed born May 4, 1830; died Aug. 1, 1886.
Louesa Mason Ruth daughter of Litteberry Mason and wife of W. J. Ruth born Feb. 1, 1829; died Apr. 6, 1857.
Wm. Townsend born Meh. 3, 1794; died July 13, 1875.
W. G. Townsend born Aug. 24, 1815; died Oct. 15, 1890.

A UNIQUE CIVIL WAR ITEM.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has just received a donation that is very greatly prized, and one that is likely unique in the history of the Civil War—an oil painting made by an artist while the battle was in progress, and he sitting looking on and industriously making the painting from the scene that was being enacted in plain sight before him.

The painting was given the Society by one of its members, Mrs. Susan Austin Arnold McCausland, wife of Judge McCausland, of Lexington, and is the picture of the battle of Lexington which was fought September 18-20, 1861; Col. Mulligan in command of 2600 men, and Gen. Price with 18,000 men. In planning the defense the water supply was overlooked, and that as well as the overwhelming force brought against Mulligan compelled him to surrender. The Federal forces were in and around the Masonic College, now Central College of the Southern Methodist church, a college for young ladies. The picture was painted by a Hungarian exile named Domenico, and shows the college building and dormitory, the batteries of Bledsoe, Guibor, Kelley and Kneisley and the other forces of both sides.

It was given to Miss Gabriella Hawkins, and left by her by will to the above donor, who humorously describes herself as the "most nonreconstructable, unsurrenderable Confederate she could find." Mrs. McCausland also was in plain view of the battle while it was in progress, and has written a paper for the Society on "The Battle of Lexington as seen by a Woman," which is published in this number of the Review.

MISSOURI GRASSES.

Prof. G. C. Broadhead is a frequent welcome visitor at the rooms of the Society and is full of information about the his-

tory, the geology, and the natural productions of Missouri. On the latter he gives some interesting information about some of the grasses of Missouri:

My early recollections in Missouri, about 1840 or soon after, was that blue grass was then only found where it had been sowed, chiefly in yards.

In 1852 on riding through Fire Prairie, in Western Missouri, I found that the bottom prairie grass, *spartina cynosuroides*, would reach above my shoulders. The upland prairie grass, *andropogon fucatus*, was plentiful everywhere on the hills and in two weeks holes would be worn in my shoes from walking through it. Before 1850 blue grass was not found in Missouri pastures. In 1870 the blue grass was in most of the pastures of Missouri, was also along the road sides and beginning to grow in hazel thickets. In 1880 it was common in North Missouri, and in many counties south of the Missouri river. In 1870 it was not abundant in Saline county, but in 1881 was common there. As the wild grasses were trampled down the blue grass took their place, leaving the prairie grass chiefly in railroad limits. Before Kansas was much settled, the Buffalo grass was common near the Missouri line and west. In grazing, the tall prairie grasses drove the Buffalo grass west, and the blue grass drove other tall grasses in the same way. Prior to 1870 the tall sun flower was found only as far east as the west line of Missouri. Fifteen years later it was abundant on the Wakenda prairie, and in a few years was abundant as far east as the Mississippi river.

GOVERNOR GEO. W. P. HUNT a member of this society, the first governor of the state of Arizona was born at Huntsville, Missouri, November 1, 1859. His grandfather, Daniel Hunt, was one of the early pioneers of Missouri, donated the land on which the county seat was located, and the town was named in his honor. The governor was raised on a farm near Huntsville, and since he was nineteen years old he has been active in various ways in Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona, and a member of the legislature of the territory of Arizona several terms.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

For want of funds if for no other reason this Society has not done much in genealogical matters, and can not be compared with the Minnesota Historical Society, which has all of the township histories and family genealogies of the United States and Canada. Its American genealogies number 2180 bound volumes, and 1125 pamphlets in addition to the publications of Societies.

It has been decided by this Society to see if Missouri wishes its historical society to give more attention to this kind of work, and if there shall be sufficient encouragement to make a department for the benefit of persons interested in Missouri family history or genealogy. The membership fee of the Society is only a nominal one, one dollar, and the Missouri Historical Review is sent to all members. We ask that all persons interested should write to the undersigned, and express an opinion as to the desirability of the Society giving more attention to genealogical work, giving a space in the Review to queries and answers relating to such work. All persons are further asked to deposit with the Society, for preservation and perhaps publication their family records. Address,

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT,
State Historical Society,
Columbia, Mo.

QUERY.

Lewis Family—Can any reader of this column give me the ancestry of John Lewis who was born in Virginia and married Elizabeth Harvie about the year 1785, in Albermarle Co., Va. They moved to Kentucky late in the autumn of 1793, and the next year to Missouri, then Upper Louisiana Territory, crossing the Mississippi river on January 5, 1795. They settled about 28 miles west of St. Louis. Their oldest daughter, Sarah Griffin Lewis, married, about 1805, Daniel Morgan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, the frontiersman. Address,

GENEALOGIST DEPARTMENT,
State Historical Society,
Columbia, Mo.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Spanish Settlements within the present limits of the United States, 1513-1561. The Spanish Settlements within the present limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574. **Woodbury Lowery.** Putnam, 1911.

A more accurate title for these volumes, as must be obvious from the chronological limits, would be "Spanish Explorations and Settlements," but these volumes were evidently planned as the beginning of a comprehensive study of the general subject of Spanish colonization in the region indicated. As the author indicates in the preface and shows repeatedly in his treatment, the problem most interesting to him was the reasons for the ultimate failure of the Spanish.

Several criticisms may be suggested as to the method and treatment. The author's definition of an ideal history of a nation as one which contains "in parallel columns the history of the actions of her sister nations in like circumstances and under similar impulses," might be questioned, and the comparison of the exclusion of foreigners from the Spanish colonies with the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States shows a curious lack of historical perspective.

The body of the first volume is devoted to the Spanish explorers within the United States. The author follows the sources very closely, weaving them together into a long but intelligent and readable narrative, marked on the whole by a judicious appreciation of the obstacles and the redeeming virtues of the leaders. The introduction consists of a careful study of the environment and the natives, founded on monographic material, and a chapter on "Spain at the Close of the Fifteenth Century," which is based very largely on Prescott and Ticknor. As a study of Spanish psychology this chapter has interest and value, but the economic and political problems and conditions are almost ignored.

In the second volume the author shows a much firmer grip on his material and makes a wider use of monographs and secondary work. The field too is less worked over, and the contributions to knowledge more important. The narrative as in the first volume is built up directly on the sources, but the perspective and proportions are much better.

To the Missourian the most interesting local topic is no doubt the route of DeSoto and the question whether he reached Missouri. The author frankly refuses to identify the wanderings of the expedition west of the Mississippi, or to attempt to answer the question. In an appendix the difficulties of any such identification are so clearly and conclusively put forth that one is convinced that any positive answer is impossible.

Calendar of Paper in Washington Archives relating to the Territories of the United States. **David W. Parker.** Washington; Carnegie Institution; 1911.

This Calendar contains notices of Territorial Papers to be found in the collections of the Departments of State and Interior, the General Land Office, the House and Senate files, and in the library of Congress. The material proved so extensive that the Calendar is limited to papers of general interest and involving the Territory as a whole. While this test for inclusion was inevitable and probably satisfactory for the general investigator, it is rather tantalizing to the student of local history.

The papers dealing with Missouri are to be found under the three heads of Louisiana, Louisiana Territory and Missouri Territory. Under Louisiana are noted a number of Spanish letters before the purchase, dealing chiefly with the influx of Americans. Under the second heading are a number of most interesting papers dealing with the opposition to Governor Wilkinson and the factions which were so prominent in his time. Here, too, are a number of petitions, signed by several thousand citizens, which ought to be of great value to the genealogist. A little later is an interesting remonstrance against Judge Lucas. Other documents under the second

and third headings and of special interest, are petitions for the second grade of territorial government, from 1809 to 1812; a communion in reference to Missourians in captivity in Spanish Provinces, in 1817; and an inquiry in February, 1821, from Governor Clark who wished to know his legal status! The land claims and the survey figure extensively; here should be noted a number of sketch maps.. Probably the most important papers calendared are the reports from the Territorial secretaries giving proclamations, appointments and executive acts of the governor, and the territorial laws. The set is by no means complete but very valuable as far as it goes, as the records for the territorial period long since disappeared from the state archives, probably in the fire of 1837.

Evidently the scope of this calendar is too limited to satisfy the student of Missouri history, but as far as it goes it is well done and deserves grateful recognition. Probably its most important service is incalling attention to this mass of unworked material.

Fran by John Breckenridge Ellis. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. (c. 1912).

The above rounds out at least a baker's dozen of Mr. Ellis' books, and this like his others holds the interest of the reader to the end. A young girl arrives at night at the home of a wealthy man who is really her father, but who has not known of her existence. She succeeds in compelling him to take her into his household because she "wants to belong to somebody." She has been a circus girl, a lion tamer; she now has come into a quiet rural village, into the home of her father, who is a leader in church affairs, the director of the choir, and famous for his charities all over the country. He had deserted Fran's mother, married another before the first wife was dead, and now, almost unconsciously was in love with his private secretary. Fran in short dresses concealing several years of her age, soon realizes the true condition of matters, and along with a love story of which she was the center, she made herself known to her father, and prevented the accomplishment of

what otherwise would have taken place between him and the secretary.

This girl, Fran, is the charm of the book; a girl, whimsical, quaint and shrewd, with a wonderful smile, the highest courage, and a great longing for home and love.

Sixteenth Annual Report, 1911, of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. Albany, 1911.

This report made to the legislature of the state of New York is the largest report yet made by the Society, showing an increased recognition of the importance of the subject. The report has many maps, and sixty-five plates, showing objects of interest in various parts of the world. Of these there are two plates of scenes in Kansas City. An account is given of the park systems of Kansas City, St. Joseph and St. Louis. The report is an interesting and valuable one.

The Administration of the English Borders during the reign of Elizabeth. By **Charles A. Coulomb**, Ph. D. New York, 1911.

In late years universities do not give the degree of A. M. and Ph. D. so readily as formerly, but a graduate after his degree of A. B. must give proof of literary work by writing a thesis on some work that has required study and research in the preparation for it. The above was presented to the University of Pennsylvania for the degree of Ph. D. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, are agents for the publication.

The American Government by **Frederic J. Haskin**, New York, 1911.

This work containing a great amount of information is by a native of Missouri, who is a syndicate newspaper writer and his letters reach hundreds of thousands of readers. This work was prepared and each chapter submitted to some one in each department or bureau or to a chairman and the correctness of thirty chapters is attested by President Taft or other prominent person of authority. The information given is in an in-

teresting style, and when a person reads a chapter he can hardly lay the book down without continuing with the following chapter.

The author was raised at Shelbina, Shelby county, and was for a time editor of Torchlight of that place.

The Strength of American Law Schools. By Dr. Richard Henry Jesse, Yale Law Journal, March, 1912.

After many years of college service, and retirement with a Carnegie pension, Dr. Jesse, who is well known to so many classes of the University of Missouri, has not retired to a life of idleness but is actively interested in the literary questions of the day. The above paper shows that three-fourths of the American Law Colleges accept practically any one who pays the necessary fees for admission and lectures, and finally gives degree and diploma to such person. No suggestion is made as to how the college shall be compelled to raise its standard or close its doors, something that ought to be done for the credit of the profession.

A History of the Keithley Family with special reference to Levi Keithley and his descendants. By Jacob Carter Keithley. n. p. n. d. [1910].

We are pleased to add this genealogy to our collection of Missouri biography and authors, the author being a native of Missouri, now more than eighty years old. Some of the family came to Missouri before the end of the eighteenth century, and others a few years later.

Of the author and of his father, Levi, the work has full page engravings. We are indebted to the author for the addition to our collections of Missouri biography, Missouri author works and Missouri portraits.

The Ethics of Wagner's The Ring of the Nibelung. By Mary E. Lewis. N. Y. & Lond. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.

Wagner's Trilogy is based upon the Volsunga Sage, one of the oldest myths in existence, and found in the Eddas, which

were written in Icelandic at a period so distant that the date can not be fixed. According to the version as given by Wagner, two children, twins, a boy and a girl, were separated in infancy, and united in maturity that their offspring might redeem a world.

The husband and wife relation of the brother and sister is made somewhat less offensive by the Volsung children not knowing the original relation of each to the other.

The Ring of the Nibelung contains the history of the development of the thought of the world, the personages being fictitious, and representing steps or degrees in the ethical progress of mankind. The meaning of these is seen only by the close study by one who, like Mrs. Lewis, the authoress, gives a loving study to it. In fact Wagner himself did not at first realize the full meaning of his own story, as he says, "strange that not until I begin to compose does the inner significance of my poem reveal itself to me. Everywhere I discover secrets that had until then remained hidden even to myself."

The study made by the authoress was made in the interest of a body of musicians at Independence, Missouri, of which she was the leader, and should be studied preparatory to listening to the Wagnerian Music dramas.

Memorial from the legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Missouri Territory, on the subject of the defenseless situation of said Territory; and praying the aid of Congress in the defense thereof, etc, January 31, 1815. Read, and ordered to lie on the table. Washington: A. and G. Way. printers, 1815.

The Society has just received a copy of this memorial, which represented the exposed condition of the Territory to the attacks of Indians that might take the side of the British in the war with England then in progress, and the fact that if the enemy succeeded in their attempts to gain the Missouri Indians the coalition would be too formidable for the force that the Territory could bring into the field.

In the Circuit Court of the State of Oregon within and for Multnomah County. **William T. Muir.** In memoriam. 1863-1911.

The above has portrait and sketch of Mr. Muir who was born in Boonville, Missouri, November 4, 1863, practiced law in Portland, Oregon, was elected to the legislature of that state in 1905 and died November 4, 1911, at Tucson, Arizona, where he was trying to regain his health.

Our Trip Around the World. A series of letters written by **J. D. Rebo** and published by the author. Keokuk, n. d.

The author, of Alexandria, Missouri, made a trip from New York to San Francisco in the Hamburg-American steamer Cleveland, with 657 Americans, leaving New York October 16, 1909, and fifteen weeks afterwards arriving at San Francisco by way of the Suez canal.

The author interestingly tells, in a book of 230 pages, with many illustrations, of the places visited, and the happenings of the trip. The receptions given the party at various places in foreign lands, many of them costing large sums of money, show the increasing interest of the people of the world in this country. We are pleased to add it to our collection of Missouri authors.

Laboratory Experiments in General Chemistry. By **Herman Schlundt**, Professor of Physical Chemistry University of Missouri. Second edition revised. Columbia, 1912.

Prof. Schlundt has become known as an authority on **radium**, and has published on it and other chemical subjects. The above second edition of a work is intended for college students who have not had a previous course in chemistry in a preparatory school, and will serve to make the student interested in his work, as well as to assist him in it.

Business and Manufacturing Corporations (Domestic and Foreign) under Missouri Laws, by **John H. Sears**, of the St. Louis Bar. St. Louis, Counselors Publishing Company, 1910.

In thirty chapters the subject of the title page is so fully covered that it would seem that any one, whether lawyer or layman, would be able to know what the law is as to organization, charter, by-laws, capital stock, stockholders, consolidations, receivers, and all the other questions that might come up about these organizations that have in some cases become so powerful, and have the power to benefit or to oppress the people. The book is of nearly five hundred octavo pages, well printed and bound, and a creditable addition to the list of books by Missouri authors.

Boonslick—Santa Fe Trail. Missouri's First Cross-State Highway. "The College Route." Words and music by **T. Berry Smith**, Central College, Fayette, 1911.

This is a welcome addition to six other publications by Prof. Smith, in the library of the Society. It is in sheet music form, and on the title page it has a map of a strip sixty miles wide extending from St. Louis to Kansas City, showing this highway, the Missouri river, and the colleges located within that strip, numbering twenty-five in addition to those at St. Louis and Kansas City.

Central Wesleyan College ordered a large number of copies, and on February 8th it was sung at chapel exercises, and the *Star* says that "if the pioneers that blazed the trail when primeval forests decked the land had heard the singing they would have deemed it no little pay for their hardships."

Commentaries on the law in Shakespeare with explanations of the legal terms used in the plays, poems and sonnets, and discussions of the criminal types presented. By **Edw. J. White**, author of "Mines and Mining Remedies," "Personal Injuries in Mines," "Personal Injuries on Railroads," Editor "Third Edition Tiedeman on Real Property," etc. St. Louis, F. H. Thomas Law Book Co., 1911. 8 vo. 524 pp. Price \$3.50.

The dedication of the work is "To Mary A. Wadsworth, of Columbia, Missouri, a most profound student of Shakespeare, Shakespearian lecturer and author of 'Shakespeare and

Prayer," whose friendship and encouragement prompted the collaboration of these commentaries, the work is respectfully inscribed, with the author's admiration and regards."

Walpole early in the eighteenth century first suggested the idea that the plays of Shakespeare had been written by Lord Bacon, and this in expanded theory and evidence form was first presented by Delia Bacon, of Ohio, in 1857; to the present time it has been advocated by various persons and efforts made to show proofs by publications and even by digging in the bed of a river.

The author in his introductory chapter in his loyalty to Shakespeare presents reasons convincing him that Shakespeare was Shakespeare, and not somebody else. At first thought one would not think that the English law had been so lavishly expounded by the poet, in his plays and poems. This was done so accurately and consistently that they furnish the best quotations and references for a lawyer's use that general literature has ever produced. For this reason lawyers will find it useful in the preparation and trial of cases, and the unlearned in the law need these commentaries to give them the meaning, reason or history of the law term used.

A chapter is given to the law terms and references of each play, and the general index is so full that the lawyer can readily find quotations on any subject desired by him.

The work is of lasting importance and future editions will be demanded by the Shakespearian lawyer and Shakespearian reader.

NECROLOGY.

W. T. BAIRD a banker at Kirksville, and a member of this society, died there March 3, 1912. In 1859 he helped organize the Kirksville branch of the Bank of St. Louis, and has ever since been in the banking business. He was for years the Moderator of the Cumberland Presbyterian church and since its union with the Presbyterian church has been Moderator of the Kirksville Presbytery of the latter church. He was chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Missouri Valley College at Marshall, and the founder of chair of Greek there. For twenty-five years he was treasurer of the Kirksville Normal school, and has been treasurer of Adair county and of Kirksville. He was 77 years of age.

HON. CHAS. P. BLAKELY was born in Platte county, Missouri, seventy-seven years ago. In 1868 he went to Benton, Montana, and in 1888 was elected to the Territorial legislature, and was speaker of the House when the territory became a state. President Cleveland appointed him register of the United States land office, and in 1907-08 he was sergeant-at-arms of the House. He discovered an old camp of Lewis and Clark near Bozeman, and recovered many relics at the camp. He died near Bozeman Feb. 28, 1912.

JUDGE THOMAS CONNELLY was born near Enfield in White county, Illinois, and when only twenty-one years of age was elected a member of the legislature. He came to Stoddard county, Missouri, about thirty years ago. He was elected Probate Judge and served three terms. He also served as Mayor of Bloomfield. He died at Bloomfield February 10, 1912.

GEN. JOHN WILLOCK NOBLE was born in Lancaster, Ohio, October 26, 1831, was educated in the schools of Cincin-

nati, Miami University, and a graduate of Yale in 1851. He was admitted to the bar in Ohio in 1853, and in St. Louis in 1885, afterwards he went to Iowa, and practiced law till 1861, when he enlisted in the Third Iowa Cavalry in which he held the positions from lieutenant to colonel, and was brevetted Brigadier General by Congress. After the war he returned to St. Louis; was appointed United States district attorney in 1867, and from 1889 to 1893 was secretary of the interior in Harrison's cabinet. During his term the territory of Oklahoma was opened to settlement, from which he has been called the "Father of Oklahoma." He died March 22, 1912, in St. Louis in a house he built there forty years ago.

MISSOURI

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THE PRICE CAMPAIGN OF 1864.

“All that I saw, and part of which I was.”

In September, 1864, after more than three years of arduous service at the front in the various Missouri cavalry commands attached to the armies of the Frontier, the Southwest and the Border, Major Emory S. Foster and myself had resigned, as we shared the common belief that the war was over west of the Mississippi river, and had returned to our former homes in Warrensburg, Missouri, he to resume the duties of his office as County Clerk, to which he had been appointed in 1861, and I to become station agent for the Pacific railroad at Warrensburg, then the western terminus of that line.

Foster had been almost mortally wounded at the battle of Lone Jack in 1862, and was disabled from further active duty in the field, while it had not fallen to my lot to be either seriously or permanently injured while in the service, except a disabled wrist and arm.

Warrensburg, on account of its location, and railroad facilities, was at that time, the most important military post in Central Missouri, A very large amount of forage and supplies had been collected there, and commodious quarters for the troops stationed at that post had been constructed at great expense to the Government. Gen. E. B. Brown, then in command of that military district had his headquarters there.

On the evening of Sept. 23, 1864, I received a message from Gen. Brown, asking me to report to him as soon as possible at headquarters, a direction promptly obeyed, and I there met Major Foster, who had received a similar order.

We had both been in the General's brigade during the greater part of our service, and had both been assigned to duty on his staff in the Shelby campaign of the previous year, so that he knew all about our military qualifications and experience. He told us that the Confederate General, Sterling Price, with a force variously estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000 veteran cavalry, and 20 pieces of artillery, was marching rapidly from Northern Arkansas towards St. Louis, with the avowed purpose of capturing that city, and then effecting a lodgement in Central Missouri, somewhere on the Missouri river; that Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, then in command at St. Louis, had called for volunteers to take the field to repel the rebel invasion; and that he, Gen. Brown, had been ordered by Gen. Rosecrans to abandon the post at Warrensburg, and report to Gen. Alfred Pleasonton at Jefferson City, as soon as possible, with all his available force; and as he desired to save the Government stores and post at Warrensburg, he asked Foster and myself to re-enlist under Gen. Rosecrans' call for troops (order No. 107), and recruit enough men to hold the place. At that time there were quite a number of veteran soldiers in that vicinity, whose term of service had expired, and who had therefore returned to their homes. We agreed to re-enlist, and the conference ended. Early next morning, Sept. 24th, 1864, Gen. Brown marched eastward with every available man in his command, and by noon of that day we had organized two full companies of cavalry, Foster having been elected Captain of the first Company (A) and myself of the second (B). We went into camp that night at the deserted headquarters, and reported the result by telegraph to Gen. Brown, who was at Sedalia. On the 27th of Sept., 1864, Capt. William Parman came in with a full company (C) from the north end of Johnson county, and on the 28th of Sept., 1864, Captain William Fisher arrived with another full company (D) from the east

end of that county, thus making our force in all four full companies of cavalry, or 400 men, rank and file.

A work train composed of an engine and ten flat cars was at Warrensburg, and we utilized it as a means of communication with Gen. Brown. The engineer, Richard Schroeder, was a strong Union man, and I acted as conductor. On the 29th of September, 1864, I reported to Gen. Brown, at Sedalia, with the rolls of our four companies, was mustered in, and appointed by him as a special mustering officer to muster in the remainder of the battalion, which was done at Warrensburg on the 30th day of September, 1864.

An order was then issued by Gen. Brown, designating Major Foster as the commander of the battalion; arms and ammunition were issued to it, and Foster was ordered to mount his force by taking horses wherever he could find them.

We were first called the Johnson County Citizen Guards, but soon afterwards Gen. Brown changed the name to Foster's Cavalry Battalion, Missouri Volunteers. We were soon well mounted, armed and equipped, and owing to the number of veterans in the command, ready for any service. Our battalion had the following organization:

Field and Staff.

Emory S. Foster.....	Major commanding
C. M. Leet.....	Adjutant
Jas. Gilliland	Quartermaster
Geo. W. Houts.....	Commissary
Nelson Dunbar	Surgeon
W. G. Smith.....	Q. M. Sergeant
J. F. M. Bradley.....	Commisary Sergeant

LINE.

Company A.

John Creek.....	First Lieutenant Commanding
S. P. Bird.....	Second Lieutenant

Company B.

Geo. S. Grover.....	Captain
A. L. Reavis.....	First Lieutenant
D. C. Allen.....	Second Lieutenant

Company C.

William Parman	Captain
John Mason.....	First Lieutenant
Green Mason.....	Second Lieutenant

Company D.

William Fisher	Captain
Thomas Marshall.....	First Lieutenant
Anthony Fisher.....	Second Lieutenant

We fortified the headquarters building, with barricades of cord wood, piled in double rows as high as a man's head, and by incessant and active scouting, soon cleared the surrounding country of guerrillas, and added very largely to our supply of forage and rations.

On the 15th of October, 1864, Lieut. A. L. Reavis, Sergt. J. L. Rogers and a small detachment of Co. B. were captured at Sedalia by the Confederate General, Jeff Thompson, who dashed in there, holding the place only a few hours, and then rejoining Price, without attempting to molest us at Warrensburg.

Lieut. Reavis had previously commanded a regiment of Missouri Militia, and was a capable and experienced officer, so that his loss was deeply felt by his comrades.

On the 16th of October, 1864, we were ordered by Gen. Brown to move westward until we met Gen. Jas. G. Blunt, of Kansas, who was known to be marching in our direction with a division of Kansas volunteers, supposed to be about 3,000 strong. Within an hour after receiving the order, our entire command was moving, led by Major Foster, who was only able to ride with great difficulty and pain. After an all-night march, we met Gen. Blunt at Big Creek, five miles east of Pleasant Hill, and returned with him to Holden, arriving there after dark, on the 17th of October, 1864. There, Major Foster divided our battalion, taking part of it with him to Warrensburg, leaving the remainder under my command, attached to the first brigade under Col. C. R. Jennison, of Gen. Blunt's division. We left Holden at day-light next morning, October

18th, 1864, and arrived at Lexington that night after dark, and our brigade camped at the fair grounds.

Early next morning, (the 19th) I was ordered by Col. Jennison, to send out three scouting parties in the direction of the enemy, one each on the Sedalia, Berlin and Dover roads. Capt. Parman went out on the Sedalia road, Sergeant William Cameron of Co. B. on the Berlin road, and another squad under my command on the Dover road, leaving Capt. Fisher with Lieuts. Creek, Bird and Allen, in camp with the remainder of the battalion, who were kept under arms in line, awaiting the approach of the enemy.

About noon, Lieut. J. L. Thornton, with a part of a company of the 11th Kansas Cavalry, overtook us, on the Dover road, and we skirmished together all that afternoon, through corn fields and heavy timber, on the banks of the Tebo, with what seemed to be a constantly increasing force of the enemy. About sundown we began to hear artillery firing, in the direction of our camp, and then a messenger arrived from Col. Jennison, recalling us, as Price's advance guard, under Gen. Jo Shelby, was riding into the outskirts of Lexington. Our two brigades numbered less than three thousand men, and Shelby had more than three times that number, so there was nothing to do but retreat as best we could. Thornton started back, and got to his command all right, but I waited for Cameron, and sent a messenger to recall him, telling him to ride toward the sound of Cameron's guns, whose firing we could plainly hear. The force in my front increased so fast that we had to fall back or be captured. We galloped back under fire nearly all the way, to the edge of the town, and there waited for Cameron something like twenty minutes, although the time seemed much longer to me. By that time it was dusk and just as I was about to give the command to move, to my little squad of twenty men, a rebel regiment halted on the brow of the hill about three hundred yards away, to the east and the officer in command rode down towards us, and asked who we were. I shouted back in reply that we were part of Jennison's brigade. He yelled out, "Yankees; charge them, boys," and just then

Cameron rode up, his squad intact, his horses in a foam, himself in a towering rage, as no messenger had reached him, the poor fellow having been killed soon after leaving us, and of course Cameron thought we had left him to be picked up by the enemy. It was no time for explanation, so we wheeled to the left, and rode straight towards the astonished rebels. They stopped, evidently thinking that our support was near, whereupon we wheeled quickly to the right, dodged down a side street, in the gathering darkness, and rode straight westward, on the Wellington road, closely pursued by the "Johnnies" who headed us off twice at intersecting corners, but we rode through them under fire, and escaped with the loss of one man, William Talbot, of Co. B., who was shot in the head and fell off his horse, apparently stone dead, in the last charge. By that time, Gen. Blunt was fully five miles away retreating rapidly on the Wellington road. It was after midnight when we overtook the rest of our battalion, which had fortunately escaped with Jennison's brigade, losing one wagon, belonging to Co. B. which broke down en route, and was abandoned.

We marched steadily all night in the rain, stopping long enough only on the south bank of the Little Blue, to boil coffee, and feed our horses, at day break on the morning of October 20th, 1864.

Our brigade was first deployed next morning, Oct. 20th, 1864, as skirmishers on the south bank of the Blue, and then sent back to guard Independence, while the second brigade of our division under Col. Thos. Moonlight, of the 11th Kansas Cavalry, rode forward, and was soon hotly engaged with an overwhelming force of the enemy. We took advantage of the first halt, to dismount by the roadside, and eat a hurried breakfast of hard tack and raw bacon, and while thus occupied the Second Colorado Cavalry, led by their gallant Major, J. Nelson Smith, passed us, going to the front. The Major and myself were old acquaintances, and he said, as he stopped long enough to shake hands with me, "Grover, I had a strange dream last night, and believe I will be killed today about ten o'clock." I made a jesting reply, but he shook his head as he

rode on in front of his brave men. Our bugles soon sounded "boot and saddle," and we then rode rapidly to the front also. We passed Gen. (S. R. Curtis and staff on a little knoll, overlooking the battle field, which was that morning, (Oct. 20th) on the rising ground south of the Little Blue, and learned that we had been reinforced during the night by another division of Kansas volunteers, so that we had perhaps about four thousand men in line that day. But the enemy was fully twenty thousand strong, so that all we could possibly do would be to hold him in check until the Missouri Cavalry under Gen. Pleasanton could arrive and attack the rebel rear.

As we deployed into line, Lieut. Thornton, my comrade at Lexington, passed by in an ambulance badly wounded, and as he passed us, the brave fellow, himself from our county, shouted "hurrah for old Johnson," to which we replied with a hearty cheer. Cameron was taken down with a severe chill, while we stopped for breakfast, and I left him at a farm house on the road, but as we formed, he rode into the ranks of Co. B. just able to sit on his horse. We reformed, just at this point, owing to the falling back of the second brigade, as they were out flanked, and out numbered, and unlimbered our four twelve-pound cannon on the extreme left of our line, and opened fire on the advancing enemy with them.

Our battalion was dismounted, except Parman's Company, which was sent off to the right, to fill a gap in the line of the Second Colorado Cavalry, then hotly engaged with the enemy's advance guard. Fisher was held in reserve, though under fire, while the rest of us lay down in front of the battery to support it while thus in action. Just then, Lieut. Eayre of the artillery rode by us, and reported to Gen. Curtis, who was near our position, that Maj. Smith of the Second Colorado Cavalry had just fallen, shot through the heart. Instinctively, almost, I looked at my watch. It was five minutes past ten o'clock. Col. Moonlight came up on foot to direct the fire of our battery as his line when reformed, overlapped ours a little there, and just then a young staff officer rode up and told me to fall back and remount my command. The enemy was advancing rapidly

within easy range, so as we rose up, we fired a volley at them, and we then fell back in good order, reloading at will, to Capt. Fisher's line in front of the horses, scarcely fifty yards back of the battery. Col. Jennison dashed up to me just as we were dressing our new line, preparing to mount, and said, "Who in hell told you to abandon that battery?" I pointed to the young officer, and said, "He did; I thought it was a d—d strange order, but obeyed it." He smiled, and said, "Well, go back, quick." We started instantly on the double quick and lay down in our old place in front of the battery, before the firing ceased when Col. Moonlight walked up to me and said, "Captain, these are good men, I never saw anything better done than that." My blood was up, and an impatient reply was on the end of my tongue, when Gens. Blunt and Curtis rode by, and the former, in his bluff, soldierly way, leaned forward and patted me on the shoulder, and said, "Well done, my boy, well done," while Gen. Curtis, cool and collected, as if no battle was on, said, "Captain, you were right, I saw it all, and will not forget you and your brave men. This instantly soothed my anger, so that I saluted the two Generals and Col. Moonlight, and quickly resumed my former position with our line in front of the battery.

We had Martin-Henry breech loading rifles, so that we could fire sixteen shots before reloading, while the enemy were armed with Enfield rifles, a long single barreled, unwieldy muzzle loading gun, wholly unfit for cavalry use.

This superiority of armament enabled us to frequently break their advancing lines, and hold them in check for a long time, with a small force, as compared to their. We fought them in this manner all that day, falling back when outflanked, reforming, breaking their lines, and again retreating, over every foot of ground, between Little Blue and Independence, as well as through the streets of that town itself. In our last stand near the Court House square, in Independence, George Todd, a notorious guerrilla, rode out in front of their line, and was almost instantly killed, Col. Hoyt, of the 15th Kansas Cavalry, a private soldier of that regiment, and Sergt. William

Caldwell, of Co. A, of our battalion, fired so near together at him, that although near by, I was unable to tell who killed Todd, but am inclined to award the credit of it to the man belonging to the 75th Kansas Cavalry, who was and is unknown to me, as it seemed to me that his was the first shot, though the two others followed in quick succession, and Todd fell headlong from his horse, at the first fire.

The next day, Oct. 21st, 1864, our little army was busily engaged reforming its line along the fords of the Big Blue, so as to save Kansas City, if possible, and our wagon train was sent across the Kaw to Wyandotte, Kansas. We had several sick and wounded men in our battalion by that time, so that our three remaining wagons were loaded with them, and sent over to Wyandotte, accompanied by an escort commanded by Lieuts. Creek and Bird.

During the forenoon, after heavy skirmishing, it became apparent that the enemy was moving south in the direction of Westport, so our two brigades of Blunt's division, led by their gallant commanders, Jennison and Moonlight, were sent down to Byron's ford to intercept them. Our battalion was held in line under fire on the hill near Raytown road, until the fight opened at the ford, and therefore we did not arrive at the ford until the conflict was well on, but we got there in time for the last round, and saw the enemy withdraw and swing around south, towards Westport. Here Col. Jennison sent us back as an escort to Gov. Carney, of Kansas, who returned to Kansas City that night, the rest of the brigade going on to Westport in advance of the enemy. We went into camp in the southwestern outskirts of Kansas City, after leaving Gov. Carney and staff in town, and kept our entire command under arms all night, throwing out strong pickets in the direction of the enemy, whose camp fires on Indian Creek near Westport were plainly visible, and impatiently waited until the forenoon of the next day, Sunday, Oct. 23rd, 1864, for further orders from Col. Jennison. About ten o'clock a messenger came from him directing us to report at once as the fight was getting hot and at close quarters, in the valley of Indian Creek, near West-

port. Leaving Capt. Fisher in charge of the camp, Capt. Parman and myself, with over a hundred picked men, rode to the front with all possible speed, and reached the battle ground in time to fall in with several Kansas militia regiments, who also came from Kansas City, and moved with them through the timber upon the enemy. As we deployed in the open field, beyond the trees, it was an inspiring and never to be forgotten sight, to see our gallant little army, led by Gens. Curtis and Blunt, in person, forming for its last charge in the open field upon the long rebel lines then beginning to break in disorder, owing to the rapid and well directed fire upon them by our two batteries of eight twelve-pound guns, at short range.

We arrived just in time to take place with the first brigade, and again follow the heroic Jennison, as he rode far in advance of his line, straight at the enemy's long gray columns. They broke as we reached them, reformed, and again we rode them down. Just then, the head of a column of cavalry deployed from the timber, about a mile to the left, and advanced upon the rebel right flank, and as they swung into action, the smoke lifted, and we saw their guidons, and blue uniforms, and with wild shouts, "Pleasanton has come," again we rode upon the rebel line, doubling it up like a jack-knife, while the new comers charged simultaneously, breaking the rebel rear, in their front, in wild disorder, causing the rebels to leave their strong position and scatter through the timber of Indian Creek, with scarcely the semblance of an organization, dropping guns, cartridges and blankets in their reckless flight.

The battle had been fought, and the victory won. Price was now in full retreat towards Arkansas, and Kansas City was saved, so with light hearts, we sent a courier after our comrades, and pursued the demoralized enemy down the State line between Missouri and Kansas.

The ensuing days and nights until after battle at Mine Creek, which we witnessed, though far to the right of Pleasanton's line, were spent in close pursuit of the flying enemy. By that time, as we had been in the saddle night and day

alike, almost continuously since the 16th of October, with little to eat, and that at rare intervals, many of our best men were worn out, and horses broken down. Still we "kept up the procession," and would have gone on with Col. Jennison to the Arkansas river, but for the imperative order of Gen. Rosecrans to all Missouri troops to countermarch at once to Warrensburg, and their rendezvous. At my request, Col. Jennison and Gens. Blunt and Curtis, interceded in vain with Gen. Rosecrans in our behalf. We were needed at home, and must retrace our steps, he said, so we sorrowfully parted with the brave Kansans, who had become quite near and dear to us, and started for home on the 25th, via Hickman's Mills, and Pleasant Hill. After a hard day's ride on the 26th, interspersed with numerous brushes with scattered guerrilla bands, as we neared Pleasant Hill, we heard rapid and continuous firing in a lane on a little rise, with a rock fence on one side, and a skirt of timber on the other. Upon getting nearer we saw a sharp fight in progress between a company posted behind the rock fence, and what seemed to be a much larger force of the enemy, in the timber across the lane. Urging our jaded horses into a gallop, we opened fire on the men in the timber, whereupon they remounted in hot haste, cutting bridle reins loose, as they jumped on their horses, and scattered in every direction, except towards the rock fence and our command. The Company behind the fence also rose and remounted, and we then saw that it was Co. G, 7th M. S. M., led by Capt. M. U. Foster, all Warrensburg boys. Foster only stopped long enough to see who it was, and wave a salute, and then charged through the timber at the head of his company in pursuit of the enemy, who proved to be a large detachment of Anderson's and Quantrell's men-guerrillas. As he rode out of sight, Foster shouted to me to "look out for the Governor, and take him in to Pleasant Hill." By that time we had reached the battle ground, and found an ambulance behind the rock fence, with the top literally riddled with bullets, in which was Gov. W. P. Hall, of Missouri. As I rode up, saluted and introduced myself, the Governor climbed down from the vehicle

and said "that was a close call, Captain, have you any whiskey about you?" Luckily my canteen was nearly full of good stuff, a parting gift from Col. Jennison, and it was quickly handed over. The Governor took a long, and seemingly refreshing drink of it, and then said he was ready for the road, and climbed back into the ambulance. It was but a moment's work to hitch up and start, and we soon reached Pleasant Hill, where I reported to Capt. Jas. Allen in command of that post, who took charge of the Governor and entertained him at his house. Our coming was a great relief to Capt. Allen, as he had heard the firing, but was unable to venture out, on account of the small force under his command, and want of information as to the whereabouts and strength of the enemy. That night we camped in a corn field just in the edge of town, and got a refreshing rest, with the sky for a canopy, and our saddles for pillows.

About midnight I was awakened suddenly by a rough voice in my ear saying "here he is—fall in—" Jumping up, revolver in hand, I found my old friends and comrades, Capt. Foster and Lieut. Dan Marr, of Co. G., 7th M. S. M., who had just arrived from their guerrilla chase. They had been with Pleasanton in all his battles with Price, beginning at the Moreau, and ending at the Little Blue, and had been detached at Independence, much to their disgust and chagrin, to act as Governor Hall's escort to Warrensburg. Foster and myself joined forces, and started for Warrensburg at day-break on the 27th with a strong guard around the Governor's ambulance. Long after the war Capt. John Rudd, one of the guerrillas who fought with Foster at the rock fence, told me that they re-assembled next day in the Big Creek timber, for the purpose of renewing the attack, but when they saw us deploy into the plain before them, Marr, with the advance guard, Parman and Allen as flankers, Fisher in the center, and Creek with the rear guard, concluded not to tackle us, and quietly decamped through the brush without firing a shot.

As we passed through Centerview, we overtook a wagon train, heavily loaded with forage, accompanied by a small

escort. As we drew near, the wagons were parked in a circle, the teams and men inside, in true frontier fashion, and we then saw it was Sergt. Alex. Harris, of our battalion, an old scout, who had passed his life on the plains. He recognized us in time to prevent hostilities, and our meeting was a joyful one. Major Foster had taken Lieuts. Marshall, of D, and Mason, of C, and Sergeants Alex. Harris, of A, Sam Congdon and Tom Jones, of B, and Clifton Bondurant, of D, back to Warrensburg with him when he left us at Holden.

Although unable to take the field, the Major had added largely to his little force, kept out so many active scouting parties in all directions, as to clear the surrounding country of guerrilla bands, saved the post at Warrensburg with its large amount of valuable stores to the Government, and had lived on the country, and added a large amount of forage to the post supplies in the meantime, so that when Gen. A. J. Smith arrived there with two divisions of the 16th corps of infantry direct from the Red river, he made it his headquarters, and found the place admirably adapted for that purpose.

We arrived at Warrensburg about sunset that day, Oct. 27th, 1864, having been absent about twelve days, marched over four hundred miles, been in four decisive battles, and almost constantly under arms day and night, and under fire, and had contributed our mite to the defeat and rout of an army of veteran rebel soldiers under Price, largely outnumbering the combined forces of Curtis and Pleasanton. We remained at Warrensburg actively on duty until Nov. 4th, 1864, when, owing to the large surplus of cavalry then in the State, we were mustered out.

It has always seemed to me, as it did then, that Gen. Rosecrans, owing to the lack of knowledge of the situation, lost a golden opportunity for annihilating Price in this campaign. After the battle of Mine Creek, if he had united the Missourians under his command, with the Kansans under Gen. Curtis, and gone down via Cassville, to the Arkansas river, Price's army would have melted away under such a pursuit, and ceased to exist as an organized body. Especially would

this have been true if Gen. A. J. Smith's splendid corps of infantry, instead of being sent on a wild-goose chase after Price's cavalry and never overtaking it, had been halted on the north bank of the Arkansas river, on the roads down which Price's men fled like hunted creatures, before Gen. Curtis, and thus cut off the retreat of that army. However, as Bill Arp very truly says when speaking of his military service, "a man's hind-sight is always better than his fore-sight."

After Major Foster left us, the command of our battalion fell to me, as the next ranking officer. The Major's own Company (A) was ably commanded by Lieut. Creek. He and Lieut. Bird were both veterans, having served together in the First Missouri Artillery, so that they were trained cavalrymen, as well as skilled artillerymen. My Company (B) was commanded by Lieut. D. C. Allen, a brave, dashing young officer, who had served in the Kansas militia. It was he who opened our fire on the enemy, as we rose from behind the battery at Little Blue, and he also had the right of the line, and led our charge at Byron's ford on the Big Blue.

Captain William Parman, of C, was one of the best officers in our battalion. He had served with my father at the siege of Lexington in 1861, under Col. Jas. A. Mulligan, and was captured there, but re-entered the service as soon as he was exchanged, and his time had just expired prior to his joining us. Of iron constitution, dauntless courage, and coolness, we depended on him in every emergency, and were never disappointed in him.

Captain William Fisher, of D, was the oldest officer in our command, in years, and had seen considerable service in the Missouri militia. He was a cool, thoughtful man, and exceedingly efficient both in garrison and field.

Captain William Parman, of C, Quartermaster Jas. Gilleland of the staff, and Sergt. Wm. Cameron, of B, with many others, had been captured at Lexington in 1861, and in the 15th Kansas Cavalry in our brigade were a few survivors of the Lawrence massacre.

At Little Blue and Independence, Col. Hoyt, of that regiment led repeated charges on the enemy, with the battle cry, "Remember Lawrence," so we adopted, "Remember Lexington," for a similar purpose. In our last charge at Westport, the voice of Parman could be heard above the roar of the battle shouting, "Come on, boys, remember Lexington."

In January, 1865, long after our muster out, William Talbot, of my company, reported to me at Warrensburg for duty, as one risen from the grave. He had been shot in the head at Lexington, on the night of October 19th, a small rifle ball striking him squarely in the center of the forehead, and coming out just above the base of the skull in the back of the head, equi-distant from the ears. He was left on the battlefield for dead, by us, but recovered so as to return home. The poor fellow was partially demented ever afterwards, and wandered off into Kansas, where he died in the latter part of that year.

Such in brief is an imperfect description of the services of Foster's Cavalry Battalion in the Price campaign of 1864. The brave men of that command certainly earned the right to a place in the roster of the Army of the Border, and in the military history of that time.

GEO. S. GROVER,

Late Capt. Co. B, Foster's Cavalry Battalion Missouri Volunteers.

GOV. JOSEPH W. McCLURG AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

While I have agreed to write this paper on the life and public services of Gov. McClurg, there are others who were more intimately acquainted with him, and I have been glad to call upon some of these for facts and incidents in his career of which I did not know. I am especially indebted to Hon. N. C. Burch and Hon. R. T. Van Horn for the information they have given me to use in this paper.

Gov. McClurg was born in St. Louis county, Missouri, February 22, 1818, and, so far as I have been able to learn, lived in Missouri all of his life except during brief intervals.

Much the larger part of his early life was spent at Linn Creek, Camden county, Missouri, where he resided. Linn Creek is a town on the Osage river. While living there and before the Civil War, Gov. McClurg carried on and built up a large merchandising business.

The young and rising generation now coming upon the stage of action, can not well understand the nature of the business carried on in Missouri in those days. Then there were no railroads. The transportation in Missouri during that period was carried on by boats on the rivers. St. Louis was noted for its river traffic. Goods and merchandise bought and sold by the Missourians of those days were transported by boat up the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage rivers. Of course the Osage river is no such stream as the Missouri river, still there has always been traffic to some extent on the former stream.

The goods and merchandise which were sold by Gov. McClurg when he carried on business at Linn Creek, were brought to that place as a river point which had river connections with St. Louis, and in that way, with the outside world.

The cities and towns on the rivers in Missouri were distributing points during that period, for a vast territory. For example, prior to 1860, goods were distributed from Boonville, Missouri, over a considerable portion of Southwest Missouri,

and also over a portion of Northern Arkansas and the Indian Territory. Afterwards, as railroads were built, cities and towns on the railroads instead of cities and towns on the rivers, were distributing points for the same territory.

As illustrative of this, I well remember that in 1866 and 1867, at Sedalia, trains of wagons, sometimes a mile or more in length, which had loaded up goods and merchandise at Sedalia and which were destined for the various cities and towns in Southwest Missouri and in Arkansas and the Indian Territory, received their goods at that point for distribution in that territory.

Gov. McClurg, as I have already indicated, was a merchant engaged in the sale of the different kinds of goods usually sold in a store at that time. That business he continued down to about the beginning of the Civil War.

In 1862, Gov. McClurg was elected to Congress, from the congressional district which then included Jefferson City, Sedalia, Harrisonville, Butler, Nevada, Osceola and Bolivar. The district extended from Jefferson City and Cole county to the Kansas border. Gov. McClurg represented that district in three congresses. He was first elected in 1862, and re-elected in 1864, and again in 1866.

The career of Gov. McClurg in Congress seems not to have been an eventful one. He was not a man of great ability. Although it was during a very stormy period, and although Gov. McClurg was strongly allied to the Union side, he never seemed to be a demonstrative character. He was a mild-mannered man. He made little show while in Congress. He voted with the men who stood with and for the Union, during that period and during the reconstruction period which followed the Civil War. While he remained in Congress he voted with his party upon the questions which came up for discussion.

The first time I ever saw Gov. McClurg, was in 1866, when I was present and heard an address delivered by him, as a candidate for Congress, at the Court House in Sedalia. The questions and issues of that campaign, and indeed of most of

the other campaigns which immediately succeeded it, related to the questions of reconstruction, restoration of political rights, and other kindred questions of that day and time.

There were two or three striking characteristics of Gov. McClurg. One of those was his unquestioned loyalty to his state and country. From the first he was a Union man in the State of Missouri, and took a prominent and pronounced position in defense of the Union. He never wavered in defense of the Union, and the freedom of the slaves. He was an intensely religious man, and he was so constituted that his loyalty to his country and the Union and its preservation were regarded by him as next to and closely akin to his religious devotion. His devotion to his religious beliefs and tenets and his devotion to his country seemed to commingle. Each was of the same quality and from the same fiber as the other.

The address in 1866 to which I have referred above, was delivered from manuscript. Gov. McClurg was in no sense an orator. It is, perhaps, doubtful whether he could deliver extemporaneously, a lengthy connected address. However, the written address that he delivered dealt with important facts and events and then was interesting and instructive.

In 1868 Gov. McClurg was elected Governor of Missouri. At this point I take occasion to introduce as a part of this paper a letter which I have received from Hon. N. C. Burch, who now lives at Tropico, California. Mr. Burch was a resident of Washington, D. C., when Gov. McClurg was in Congress. Afterwards he came to Missouri, and while Gov. McClurg was filling the office of Chief Executive of the State of Missouri, Mr. Burch was Clerk of the Missouri Supreme Court at Jefferson City. In this way, Mr. Burch became familiar with the career of Gov. McClurg, both as a member of Congress and afterwards as Governor. After being requested to write this paper, I wrote Mr. Burch, asking him to give his recollections of Gov. McClurg. The following is his reply:

Tropico, Cal., Oct. 11, 1907.

"Hon. James S. Botsford,

Kansas City, Mo.

My Dear Sir:—Your favor of the first inst., asking me to write you my recollections of Governor McClurg's administration, has served to call up a crowd of memories, more or less marshalled in ghostly garb, of the dead but never to be forgotten past.

I think it was in the summer of 1862 that I first made the acquaintance of McClurg. Perhaps it was as late as October. It was some little time before his election to Congress in November of that year. I was then a resident of Washington City, and in full sympathy with the Border State policy of President Lincoln, not so much out of sympathy with the principles involved as with the President whom I loved, and upon whose shoulders was the crushing weight of responsibility for saving the government of the Union. You, perhaps, do not remember the sinister influences that were at work to break down the administration and stop the war. Quoting the President's well-remembered words: "There be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery." And, "There be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery." And, "My paramount object is to save the Union, and neither to save or destroy slavery."

The country was on the eve of a Congressional election. Without a Congress to back him—there was imminent danger that the war would cease, the Union tumble, and anarchy reign. Oh, the terror of those times. But our loved Lincoln had the courage to face these "conditional Union men," on both sides of the question, for such they were, and with a wisdom that confounds the foolish, sent to the people of the country and the world his famous proclamation of September 22, 1862, forty-five years ago, freeing the slaves of the states remaining in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, and forecasting a repetition of his recommendation to Congress of compensation to loyal owners for loss of slaves.

The proclamation left the institution of slavery in Missouri undisturbed. It did not please the Radicals. McClurg was a Radical. I do not say that he was a conditional Union man to the extent that he did not want the Union saved unless at the same time slavery was destroyed. He knew that that for which the war was slavery, and he wanted it rooted up, destroyed, root and branch.

In Missouri in '62, the Radicals, led by B. Gratz Brown, demanded immediate and unconditional emancipation, and as a Radical under such leadership, McClurg ran for Congress in the Fifth District. The Conservatives, as you remember no doubt, favored gradual emancipation, with compensation to loyal owners, and were led by General Francis P. Blair. The campaign developed much bitterness. General Blair, no doubt, reflected the policy of the President. General Blair was my personal friend, as was Gratz Brown, and I remember distinctly how sincerely I deprecated and sorrowed over the political antagonism of these two able leaders of the Republicans of Missouri, that seemingly had its birth at this time. As much as I hated slavery, I thought and still think it was a great political mistake for the Republicans of Missouri or any fraction of them to break with the President and General Blair at that time. It was the beginning of all of "poor old Missouri's" woes, after the war.

This much as preliminary to my recollections of McClurg's administration as Governor of Missouri.

Reserved and quiet in his speech and manner, McClurg did not strike one as an aggressive Radical. Indeed, after the decree of emancipation by the Missouri State Convention, and the close of the war, there was as little of the Radical in McClurg's composition as in the veriest Liberal that roared from the political jungles of the state. In fact there was little if any difference between his policy on removal of political disabilities imposed by the Drake Constitution, and that of the Liberals. If my memory is not at fault I am correct in saying that it was upon his recommendation that the Legislature of the state, in authority concurrent with his administration, submit-

ted the question whether the time had arrived when the late rebels could then be re-enfranchised with safety to the state, to a vote of the people. My recollection is, it was the policy of his administration to bury the hatreds engendered by the war and questions of emancipation. Most certainly there was nothing proposed or done by the Executive or the Legislative power of the state, under his administration, to deserve the Liberal defection that manifested itself in the Republican convention that met for the nomination of his successor.

In the two years of McClurg's administration there were no salient issues of state policy, as I now recollect, other than that I have mentioned. Whether the time had arrived when the late rebels could be enfranchised with safety to the state, McClurg believed it to be a question the people should decide at the polls, and recommended its submission to them. A majority of the convention that met to nominate his successor approved the action of the Legislature in so doing, and nominated him to be his own successor. Because the convention did not choose to declare that the "time had come" or to adopt the "dial" plank of the platform reported by Senator Schurz, and thus make the support of the enfranchisement of the late rebels a test of party loyalty, there was a bolt from the convention, and the nomination of Gratz Brown for Governor. Yes, Gratz Brown, the Radical, with whom McClurg has trained in the old days and from or by whom he had no doubt been fortified and strengthened in his radicalism.

McClurg's administration was of short duration, and not signalized, as I now recall, by any distinguishing occurrence. It was a plain, careful, conscientious, unostentatious, business-like enforcement of the laws of the state. It was Radical only in name. It differed from the Liberal only in the means to the same end. It proposed constitutional readjustments conforming the fundamental law to the conditions of peace and a restored Union with the destruction of negro slavery, through amendments to the constitution by a direct vote of the people, rather than by a constitutional convention. In the

opinion of many Liberal observers, subsequent events clearly vindicated the wisdom of this policy.

The economy of McClurg's administration was noticeable. The growth of the state by increase of population and the assessed valuation of taxable property, together with the reduction of the state debt from thirty-seven million dollars to eighteen and a half million dollars, all evidenced a confidence at home and abroad that was indeed flattering to the Republican administration of the state.

Having perhaps exceeded the space you expect me to occupy in answering your request, I will close with the assurance that I am, as ever, loyal to Old Missouri, never allowing anyone to speak slightly of the grand old commonwealth in my presence without resenting the injustice.

Yours very truly,

N. C. BURCH."

Respecting the administration of Gov. McClurg as Chief Executive of the State of Missouri, while much that took place during his term of office was common-place, still very much may be said in its favor and praise. Gov. McClurg was unquestionably an honest man. There were no scandals during his administration. Nobody ever accused him of either being engaged in or suffering anything that savored of corruption. While in his party at that time there were objectionable characters in the State of Missouri who had been active as loyal men during the period of our civil conflict, and while Gov. McClurg was an intense partisan, not only in the nature of his character, but in his adherence to the cause which he had upheld during that dark period, still in his official career as Governor he seems not to have selected, either as his personal or political adherents, any of the objectionable characters in certain localities of the state who had been prominent in the war. His administration was free from anything that savored of corruption or official peculation. He was a useful executive, who, in a quiet way and without ostentation but with firmness maintained and upheld the law and the honor of the state during the period he was Governor.

While Gov. McClurg was in Congress, he had as one of his colleagues from Missouri, Col. R. T. Van Horn. In making up this paper I have the benefit of a most excellent letter from Col. Van Horn, who, in addition to having been the colleague of Gov. McClurg in Congress, was also a warm and generous supporter of Gov. McClurg each time that Gov. McClurg was a candidate for the office of Governor, and who was also a supporter of the administration of Gov. McClurg as the Chief Executive of the state.

Concerning Gov. McClurg, Col. Van Horn writes as follows:

“Kansas City, Mo., September 24, 1907.

“Hon. J. S. Botsford.

Dear Sir:—Your letter relative to a paper on Gov. McClurg has been on my desk for some days waiting on a decision how to respond to its request. You had a better opportunity of knowing him as Governor, and after, than I had. I served with him in two Congresses, the thirty-ninth and fortieth, and was an active supporter of his nomination twice for Governor.

I have concluded that the best I can do for you is to give his official record and his biography—or a sketch of it, and the best I find is in the ‘Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri.’

‘Joseph W. McClurg was born in St. Louis county, Missouri, February 22, 1818. He was educated at Oxford, Ohio, and on completing his course taught school in Ohio and also in Louisiana. At twenty years of age he was deputy sheriff of St. Louis county, and at twenty-two began the practice of law, but after a short time removed to Camden county, Missouri, and engaged in merchandising.

When the Civil War began, he was an outspoken, unconditional Union man, and made himself so active in organizing the Unionists of Camden county, that he was recognized as the leader in that quarter of the state. In 1862 he was Republican candidate for Congress in the Fifth district and was elected; in 1864 he was re-elected, and again in 1866, serving with credit in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth and Fortieth

Congresses. Before the expiration of his last term he was nominated for Governor by the Republicans and was elected over John S. Phelps, Democrat, by the following vote: For McClurg, 82,107; for Phelps, 62,780; whole number of votes cast, 144,887; McClurg's majority, 19,327. In 1870 he was nominated by his party again for Governor, but the Liberal element withdrew from the covention and nominated B. Gratz Brown, who represented the opposition to the test oath and the disfranchisement feature of the new constitution, and who was supported by the Democrats as well as by the liberal republicans. Brown was elected by the following vote: Brown, 104,374; McClurg, 63,336; total vote 167,710; Brown's majority, 41,038. Governor McClurg was the last Republican Governor of Missouri, and his administration was entirely acceptable to his party, but the people of the state associated it with the harsh proscriptions and disabilities of the Drake Constitution, and this is the explanation of his defeat for a second term. The Prohibitionists gratefully recall the fact that he was the first Governor of Missouri to recommend a law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. In 1889 he was appointed Register of the land office at Springfield, Missouri. After completing his term of service in this office, he lived in retirement at Lebanon, Missouri until his death, December 2, 1900.'

I have copied the above because it fills all the facts in the personal history of Gov. McClurg. My recollection of him is of his quiet unassuming personality. His sense of right was the measure of his duty in action. His moral courage was always equal to emergencies—always a fearlessly honest man.

Truly yours,

R. T. Van Horn."

I have said in this paper that Gov. McClurg was an intensely religious man. It maybe said of him, and there are those who lived in Jefferson City at the time he was Governor who will recall the fact that Gov. McClurg lived and exemplified his religion in his daily life. He was a strict teetotaler and abstainer. I have heard it stated more than once, that

on occasions of his public dinners given in the old mansion which preceded the present one at Jefferson City, he refrained from offering his guests liquors of any kind.

I do not know the nationality from which Gov. McClurg's ancestors came, but, judging from his personal characteristics, his religious devotion and his devotion and loyalty to country, he manifested many of the qualities of the Scotch. He was tenacious, unswerving, uncompromising and fixed in his purposes and conduct.

I have spoken of him as an honest man. I recently had a conversation respecting him with Hon. Phillip E. Chappell, of this city, who for many years, including the period that Gov. McClurg was Governor, was a resident of Jefferson City and engaged in the banking business at that place. Mr. Chappell became well acquainted with Gov. McClurg, both personally and officially as Governor. I learned one fact from Mr. Chappell which speaks volumes for the character of Gov. McClurg, and that is that, although Gov. McClurg, after the conclusion of his merchandise business at Linn Creek, went into bankruptcy and obtained a discharge as a bankrupt from the payment of his debts thereafter, and after he had gone out of public office and at a time when there was no hope or expectation on his part that he would ever again hold or seek a public office, he paid his creditors in full, dollar for dollar, all of his discharged indebtedness. It seems to me that if a detailed biography of Gov. McClurg were written, that fact would have to be stated as the crowning act and glory of his eventful and useful life.

JAMES S. BOTSFORD.

SPEECH OF THOMAS SHACKLEFORD

Before the Old Settlers Association, of Boone County, Missouri, Delivered on August 9th, 1906.

“HOW OLD ART THOU?”

This was the question propounded by Pharoah to the Patriarch Jacob, and Jacob said unto Pharoah, “The days of the years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty years. Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been.”

We may profit by the answer of the aged Patriarch. Life is indeed a pilgrimage; even the longest life is but a few years, and what life has not seen its evil days? How happily this thought is expressed by the gifted Spurgeon—“Today is fair, the next day there may be thunder and storm; today I may wait and want for nothing, tomorrow I may be like Jacob, with nothing but a stone for my pillow, and the Heavens for my curtain. But what a happy thought it is, though we know not where the road winds, we may know where it ends; we may have to go through trial and affliction, the pilgrimage may be a tiresome one, but it is safe.”

Now, my friends, we may not be like the early dwellers in the British Isles, when the King heard of the first missionary, he exclaimed, “All we know of life is what the bird may know, who flutters in at the window from the darkness without, passes through the lighted room, and flitters out into the darkness, so that if there is anyone who can tell us from where we come and whither we go, let us hear him.”

Who in this vast audience has not realized how few and evil are the days. It seems but yesterday when I left my home to enter the wide world, when my mother stood in the doorway to take a last look at her boy, who was leaving the home of his youth to enter in the battle of life. I steadily wended my way to the top of the hill that was soon to hide the home from view. I stopped, turned around my horse's head, and took a last look

at the home of my childhood, only a few days ago. Now, my friends, is it not true that here are some vacant chairs in this assemblage today, and since you last met? But evils are not without compensation. You have come together to clasp hands once more and perchance, recount the blessings as well as the trials of the last year.

Colten has said, "Evils in the journey of life are like hills, which alarm travelers upon the road; they both appear great at a distance, but when we approach them, we find they are far less insurmountable than we first conceived."

Now, as we look backward, and attempt to recall the scenes and events of the past, and recount the trials and triumphs of the early pioneers in this State, we are met with this prohibition: "Say not then what is the cause that the former days are better than these, for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." Ecclesiastes 7-10. But haply we can say of the early pioneer,

"Wise have I seen the uses of life's labor,
To all its puzzles found some answering clue;
But now my life has learned a nobler meaning,
Because of you."

"In the past days I chafed at pain and waiting,
Grasping at gladness as the children do;
Now it is sweet to wait and joy to suffer,
Because of you."

It is well to seriously ponder the reason for this prohibition.

It is not wise to keep the eye looking backward. The ordinary farmer is met with the command from the son of man, to keep the eye to the front furrow if it is to be straight. We must remember that the Savior of Man established principles that suited every age of the world, and man's duty is to press forward and onward. It is one of the grandest thoughts that the unfolding evidence of the power of Truth is continually

before our minds. Ever since Pilate propounded to the Savior the great question, "What is truth," the human mind in all ages has endeavored to answer the question.

While it is not wise to rest contented with the assertion that the former days are better than the present, yet it is wise to profit by the experience of the past. While I might not stand before this enlightened audience to extol the pioneers of Missouri, yet I am sure that here were principles inculcated by the early settlers that were instrumental in laying the foundation of a self-reliant and industrious class that has borne much fruit in the present age.

When I was a boy a near neighbor who had a farm adjoining ours, had a beautiful flower garden on its premises. An obtrusive gopher invaded the premises and would destroy his flowers. He put his hands to work to catch the intruder. They dug for four hours under his supervision, caught the gopher and he directed it to be put in a bag and carried five miles into the prairie. He said, "There is enough room in the world for the gopher and me." Was not such a man an exemplar of the prediction, "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountains, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Isaiah 11-9.

It must be remembered that in all ages men and women arise and live in advance and inculcate doctrines clearly in advance of the age in which they live. That they stand like beacon lights on the shores of Time to beckon us on to a higher and nobler civilization. Who will deny that Paul lived beyond his age and inculcated principles beyond his age when he proclaimed from Mar's Hill, "And has made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and has determined the time before appointed and the bounds of their habitations."

And so of Thomas Jefferson, when he looked into the dim vista of the future, and declared these truths to be self-evident, "That all men are created free and equal; that they are en-

dowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Let me give you an illustration of this allegation from the life of a man in this, your own community. In my early boyhood, in my native county of Saline, the Circuit Court was held at Old Jefferson. The Judge and lawyers who attended the court, often made my father's house a stopping place. Judge David Todd was the Judge who resided in your city, and held a circuit extending to the western border of the State of Missouri. When this company had departed, my mother called me to her side to speak of her visitors. She said to me, "Judge Todd is the best Christian man I ever saw; as often as he has visited our home, I have never heard him speak an evil word against anyone." If the lawyers criticised anyone, the old Judge always would find some good trait in the man's life to praise. Can anyone doubt that this fine Christian Judge was living in advance of the period in which he lived?

This is the impression made by this good man upon my early boyhood. I would call attention to another man, as a lawyer, first, and then a Judge, who lived in advance of his age, Abial Leonard, who was my preceptor, when advising me how to form an opinion as to the correctness of the law, when a case was presented, he said to me, "Don't jump at conclusions, get the facts, consider these facts from all standpoints, and determine in your own mind, is the case of your client right; is his case just; then look for authorities to sustain your case."

When he was elected Judge, I stood beside him in his office. He opened several letters from railroad officials enclosing passes for free transportation. He did not hesitate, but sat down and returned the passes without note or comment.

Such was his kindness of heart, when he was Judge, that if compelled to decide against a lawyer, no severe criticism of the case ever followed. I was sitting in the Supreme Court room once when he descended from the bench. He took me by the arm, and led me to his room, saying, "I want to show you a singular record. Here is a young man who has sued his

father for letting his vicious son run at large, and has injured his boy. This in anology, to the permitting vicious animals to run at large. Now," he says, "I am going to let this young man down easy. I have studied up the case and find that such was the civil law."

Again, when you farmers in an early day traded horses, a former decision of the Supreme Court had decided that if a trade was made and no warranty was asked, even if the horse was known to be unsound, the seller was not bound. But Judge Leonard with characteristic honesty, decided if the seller knew the horse was unsound, and did not disclose the fact, then he was guilty of fraudulent concealment. With such lawyers and such Judges, Shakespeare's illustrious reformer, Jack Cade, would not have announced that the first act of reformation must be that "we must kill all the lawyers."

I was riding with an old Revolutionary soldier one day; I had the ball of my foot in the stirrup. He said, "Young man, ride erect, with the instep in the stirrup." I said, "Colonel, I might be thrown." He said, "When a young man mounts a horse, he must not expect to be thrown." A good lesson to remember in life.

I trust now I shall be pardoned if I shall, in a desultory way, give some reminiscences of the early settlers in the Boone's Lick Country. These early settlers were always well posted in religious as well as political questions. We often had discussions continuing for weeks at a time on the question of the mode of baptism. We had preaching about once a month, and we did not grumble at an hour and a half sermon. We could stand and hear about the doctrine of the perserverance of the Saints, even if we were listening to a sing-song style; criticism was freely made by the hearers. One old minister of this style preached a long sermon, drank water after nearly every sentence; a critic in the rear of the house said to his neighbor, "This is the first time I ever heard a windmill run by water." An old Methodist minister, Father Monroe, preached long sermons, and generally wound up with a grand exhortion. A committee of his church called on him and

asked him to shorten his sermons, and to just put off the first part. The Rev. William G. Caples related to me how he was knocked clear off of his bearings by a little boy in front of him. He had waded through mud and snow and water to reach his appointment. With muddy boots he stood behind his table. He took for his text, Isaiah 52-7, "How beautiful upon the mountain tops are the feet of him that brought good tidings that publisheth peace." The little boy kept gazing at his muddy boots until Brother Caples realized the ludicrousness of his position and broke down in his sermon.

In politics, we were divided as Whigs and Democrats, called sometimes in derision, *Loco foco*. I was present as a boy at the great Whig Convention at Roach Port in 1840. Both parties always berated the Abolition party. General Sterling Price told me of an incident which happened when he was in Congress. Rhett, of South Carolina came into the House booted and spurred and made a furious attack on John Quincy Adams, who had argued as to the right of petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. General Price said that it was always known when Adams was going to reply that his bald head turned red. Adams did reply, and such a scorching Rhett got as he had never before heard.

That night when the Democrats met to consult as to the best means to break the force of Adam's speech, that Rhett said to him, "Why don't you Western men help us in our attack on old Adams?" Price replied, "We do, we do." "I never heard you," said Rhett. "Ah," said Price, "we do, but we keep the Alleghany mountains between us and him."

I remember the first time I ever saw your honored fellow citizen Gen. Odon Guitar. I was in the Court House in Fayette, and heard his speech in defense of Chapman, on trial for murder. I thought it was the best logical argument I ever heard, but the jury hung his client.

At the same time I heard the gifted Rollins in this defense. I well remember that as he held a leaf in his hand which he had plucked from a tree, he held it out and said in his inimitable style to the jury, "Gentlemen, when you sever this

leaf from the tree, you can never restore it to life. Even so, take the life of this man, and life is extinct forever."

While in the lives of some of these men there was some superstition, yet it was harmless. I remember asking an old settler what had become of a certain man. "Oh, he has moved again; he killed a whippoorwill when he was a boy, and he is bound to be a wanderer."

At an early day in this county, a certain physician was a candidate for the Legislature. In making his maiden speech he commenced, "I am an humble son of Esculapius." A wag in the outskirts of the crowd exclaimed, "Who in the devil did he say his daddy was?" That was the first and last speech of the doctor.

A few years ago, I met in St. Louis a banker from the West, who was the son of this physician. I asked him if the incident was true, and he said it was.

Most of the old settlers were from Virginia and Kentucky, and were noted for their high regard for women. When the Hannibal & St. Joseph road was first started in our state, one of these old rugged Virginians was in the rear of the car, and turning around, saw eight or ten ladies standing in the aisle of the coach. He exclaimed in a loud voice, "I want to know if there are any Virginians and Kentuckians in this car; if so, they will please stand up." Eight or ten men stood up. The old gentleman exclaimed, "Ladies, take any of these seats," and so it was, the ladies were seated.

Women—our women and girls, usually rode on horseback, erect and graceful (never astride). There was a friendly rivalry between the beaux as to who should gallant the girls to their homes from church. The father of my wife told me of a plan he arranged to outwit a rival; while church was going on, he stepped out—and there were no buckles in those days—he took the bridle off the rival's horse, made a noose around a sappling, and placed the bridle on the horse again, and when the church was over and his rival stood contemplating how the horse had gotten through the noose of the bridle.

So he rode off with the prize. Is it strange that he afterwards won this beautiful woman?

The women wove their own skirts, which were not so long as to worry our present scientists who fear that diseases would be contracted by the sweeping skirts of today. The bloom on the cheeks of the maiden were planted by the great architect of Nature, and it mattered not when they rode so gracefully, that their tresses hung in beautiful confusion on their necks, and when they walked "even the light harebell raised its head ecstatic from her airy tread."

We young men read Scott and Byron and Shakespeare. A few of us young lawyers were in a room at Marshall and were discussing the merits of Byron. Mr. Payton R. Hayden, an old lawyer, who was paying very little regard to our conversation, was approached by a young lawyer, who said to Mr. Hayden, "What do you think of Byron's 'Childe Harold'?" Mr. Hayden replied, "Egad! I didn't know that Byron had a child Harold."

I now recall to memory the first speech I ever made. I almost ruined my prospect in the opinion of my good girl friends when I repeated from Scott:

"Oh, woman, in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy and hard to please,
Variable as the shade by the quivering aspen made,
But when pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou."

And again, I described a woman in the subsidence of anger from Byron:

"The storm had ceased, but the waves ran high."

But the favor was restored when I quoted from Shakespeare, when the beautiful Juliet, with her cheek resting on her gloved hand, and the love-sick Romeo exclaimed,

“Oh, that I were a glove on that fair hand,
That I might touch that cheek.”

Our mothers then used the fine open fire place, and biscuit were cooked with a reflector, and a spit was hung, on which was roasted the turkey and the pig, before the bright coals of fire. It makes my mouth water even now, to think of such food.

But now, alas, the pallid cheek and the white tresses have taken the place of the rosetinted cheek and the beautiful tresses of the mothers and girls. And the rugged features of the old pioneers are now placed like the abandoned steed in the army, only to raise its head for a moment in ecstatic joy, when the bugle sounds. But let us all remember that when the oil of Spiknard, or the bottle broken by the lovely Mary as she wiped the feet of her loving Savior, with the hairs of her head, that the perfume filled the whole house.

Now, this great army of pioneers is marching onward. It may be here and there one falls, another younger steps forward to fill his place. And the Angel from the ramparts of Heaven shall proclaim, “Saved, right; blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth.” “Yea,” saith the Spirit, “that they may rest from their labors, and their words do follow them.”

Now, in view of the fact that the whole civilized world at the present time is declaring that wars must cease, does it not look like the angelic host is about to proclaim to the world anew, “Glory to God in the highest, and on Earth, Peace, Good Will toward Man”?

Now, goodbye friends; God be with you till we meet again.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY PIONEER SETTLERS AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

In a previous paper descriptive of Livingston County, allusions were made to the abundance of game and fur bearing animals of different kinds found within its limits, while the Indian still continued "Monarch of all he surveyed." They were here and he pitched his tent and devoted himself to the chase for a livelihood and trade with trappers, who had established their posts along lower Grand river, long before Livingston was organized as a county; with them, the Indians exchanged their furs and peltries for such articles of merchandise as their wants required. This trade continued until 1833, perhaps later, when it ceased altogether. Pursuant to a treaty then formed the Indian title was extinguished, and the "Red Man" removed to regions further West and North. During his occupancy of the territory now embraced by Livingston county, he had a number of towns or villages. There was one one about three-fourths of a mile west of the present site of the city of Chillicothe; another on Medicine Creek near the site at which Collier's Mills were afterwards erected; still another, on the bluffs of the east fork of Grand River, some three miles southeast of the present town of Spring Hill and one further up the river, and west of Farmersville, now a small town about twelve miles north of Chillicothe. All these villages were, of course, abandoned pursuant to the treaty above mentioned and the way was cleared for the incoming of white settlements.

According to the most reliable source of information obtainable, Samuel E. Todd was the first white settler in the county, coming into its territory before its organization as a county, in the spring of the year 1831. It is not questioned, however, that he planted and raised the first crop of corn ever raised in the limits of Livingston county. He settled on a tract of land situated about a mile west of the town of Utica, and erected first a horse mill, then a water mill on the west bank of

Grand River, near the town on which site, Hoy and Chadwick erected their costly mill in after years. At the time of his location, his nearest neighbors were the Indians on the opposite side of Grand River, and the white settlements of Ray and Carroll counties, but he was not long left alone; the rich vacant land of the county was not unknown to the people of the river counties. For a number of years hunters from the older settlements came up every fall, hunting bees and honey, then found in great abundance in the timber bottoms between the two forks of the Grand River. They came in wagons, camped on the ground and in a few days, they filled their barrels with honey and returned to their homes. Truly, nothing was lacking to make this region the rival of the one famous in history, "Flowing with milk and honey," but the milk, and this was soon supplied by the hardy pioneers who came to this section in large numbers from 1833 to 1840.

The advent of Reuben McCoskrie, John Austin and Abe Bland, with their families, into the southwest corner of the county was memorable as the season of the great meteoric showers, or "shooting stars," that occurred on the night of November 12, 1833. The same night Elisha Heriford, another pioneer, camped on the banks of Medicine Creek, seven miles east of Chillicothe. These early settlers were joined by many others in the few succeeding years, coming as they did from Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina, as well as from the older settled counties along the Missouri River.

That portion of the county lying between the forks of the Grand River attracted more of the early settlers and filled up more rapidly than others, doubtless caused by its peculiar natural advantages. The extensive bottoms on both sides of Grand River were covered by a heavy growth of timber of various kinds, and furnished luxuriant range for stock, while the uplands of fertile soil and abundant timber abounded in numerous springs, a desideratum highly prized by the pioneers of those days. Although the county was about equally divided between prairie and timber, it was not till a later day, that the prairies were settled and brought into cultivation. For a

long time, it was thought that the bottom land, or swamp lands as they were called, were unfit for farming purposes, except as range for stock, but in this later day, they have been cleared up, ditched and drained and are now considered equal to any other portion of the county in the way of production and command as high prices.

Among the first settlers between the forks of the Grand River were the following:

Jesse Nave, Levi F. Goben, David Girdner, Sr., his two sons, J. M. Girdner and David Girdner, Jr., Jonathan Smith, Riley Brassfield, David Gibbs, William Shumate, Thos. Laten, John Kirk, John Hargrave, Jospeh S. Haskin, Mathew Gibbs, Warren S. Pond, Noah R. Hobbs, David Curtis, Elias Guthridge, William Venable, John W. Boyle, John Doss, Alex. Dockery, Sr., Alex. Dockery, Jr., Robert Dockery, R. W. Reeves, Samuel V. Ramsey, W. F. Peery, W. Ware, Chas. Rosson, W. O. eJnnings, W. S. Miller, Daniel Y. Kesler, James Leeper, Andrew Ligett, Mark White, Alex. Martin, Jas. A. Davis, Benjamin Hargrove, Isham Ware, Alex. Ware, David Hicklin, John L. Leeper, John Stewart, Robert Stewart, Robert Landerdale, Willis E. Dockery (father of ex-Governor Dockery), Dr. Wm. Keith, Thomas Hutchinson, John Simpson, Joshua Bevelle and the eccentric and humorous Sam Thompson.

The following were the early settlers in Shoal Creek township, now embracing the townships of Greene, Mooresville and Monroe:

Spence H. Gregory, Thos. R. Bryan, James Austin, John Austin, Abraham Bland, Perm Bland, Isaac McCoskrie, Robertson Bryan, Zaac Lee, W. P. Frazer, John T. Gudgell, W. B. Moore, James J. Lawson, Ami Lawson, William Hudgins, John Hudgins, John Stucky, Asa T. Kirtley, H. S. Mellon, John Stone, George Stone, Roderick Matson, John S. Harper, Elisha Wells, Sam E. Todd, James Todd, John Rockhold, Nathaniel Matson, John L. Tomlin, William Meade, Gilbert Woolsey, Thomas Field and A. J. Austin.

Further east and south of Grand River, among the first

settlers were Jacob Burner, James N. Byrd, Geo. W. Cranmer, Robert Browning, Fielding J. Rawlins, Spence A. Alexander, Geo. Munroe, Alex. Davis, John Silvey, Reuben Leaton, Joseph Wolfskill, John Wolfskill, R. R. Mills, A. M. Rowley, Joseph Jones, Thomas Jones, Wm. L. Barron, B. A. Fewell, Geo. Wolfskill, W. C. Wright, Cyrus Ballew, Henry Duncan, Asa Lanter, Sol. Lewis, Wm. L. Brown, Dan'l G. Saunders, Joshua Cameron, Judge W. Wallace, Dr. Caldwell Bynside and A. F. Walden.

North of Grand River and East of Medicine Creek, embracing the townships of Wheeling and Medicine the following were the early settlers:

Ezekiel Norman, Nathan H. Gregory, Joseph Miller, Geo. W. Gish, Henry Nay, James Littrell, Adam Bathgate, D. S. McCullough, J. N. Hastings, S. W. Haynes, Geo. W. Babb, N. E. Kidder, H. Bird, Jacob Iberg, W. W. Edgerton, Dan'l Bow-ers, P. P. Peugh, D. A. McHolland, Amos Hawker, W. J. Wallace, David White, Robert Phillips, John Brown, Chapman Lightner, James Lightner, John J. Jordan, John H. Perkins, Thos. Utley, John Wright, W. B. Manning and James Turner.

In that part of the county north and east of Grand River and including Chillicothe and Cream Ridge township, the pioneer settlers were:

John Graves, Wm. Y. Slack, Thos. R. Bryan, J. N. Bell, Geo. Pace, James Bell, Nova Johnson, Edward B. Waples, Asher C. Waples, James Bradford, Henry Manning, J. H. B. Manning, H. R. Manning, James Manning, Robert Turner, Joseph Wisecarver, Henry Wisecarver, Jacob Palmer, Joseph Slagle, Drury Moberly, Thornton Myers, J. L. Meyers, Solomon Bargdoll, Amos Bargdoll, Joseph Bargdoll, Lewis Bargdoll, Dr. John S. Williams, Hiram Taylor, Abel Cox, Joseph Cox, Solomon Hooker, Gabriel May, James May, John Ryan, Elisha Heriford, Wash. Kester, Rice G. Kester, David Mumporver, W. H. H. Smith, Solomon Hoge, Morgan Hoge, James Hutchison and Wm. Hutchison.

The foregoing list embraces the main body of the early settlers of Livingston County, and for intelligence, industry

and public spirit they averaged well with other and older settlers of the state and fitted for the work of laying the foundation and promoting the development of the new county.

Before the organization of the county in 1837, some towns had been laid off and platted among which was "Astoria" on Grand River in the southeast corner of the county but it proved to be only a town on paper.

On the 12th day of August 1836 three residents of Boone county, David S. Lamme, Caleb S. Stone and David M. Hickman entered 160 acres of land on the north side of Grand River, viz: The S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 21, township 57, range 23, lying about four miles southeast of Chillicothe. On the 24th of November following they platted about 25 acres of the tract for a town which they called "Jamestown." As this land was about the center of the county, and bordering on Grand River, they anticipated that it would be selected as the county seat, and eventually grow into a place of some importance. A few lots were sold and a store house erected, but the enterprise proved a failure. The selection of Chillicothe on higher and more suitable ground for the seat of justice put an end to the hopes cherished by the founders.

The following are the towns of Livingston County:

Bedford, at first called the town of "Laborn," was platted and laid off as a town in 1839, and is located on Grand River in the southeast corner of the county.

Spring Hill was laid out and named in April, 1848. It is located on the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6, township 58, range 24, but it is considered that Jesse Nave was the original founder, who located in 1836 and erected a small store and for several years the place went by the name of "Navetown" by which it was called until the town was regularly organized and named in 1848.

Farmersville, situated about 12 miles north of Chillicothe, was laid off and platted in January, 1870, by Joseph King and others.

Chula is a small town located about 10 miles northeast of Chillicothe and was established about the time of the comple-

tion of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad through the county. This was in the year 1885 or thereabouts.

Sampsel lies about 10 miles west of Chillicothe and in Sampsel township. It was laid off about the time the Washash railroad was built through the county.

Utica is one of the oldest towns in the county and to Roderick Morton, is awarded the distinction of being its founder. In April, 1837, the town was laid off, and platted and is situated on the Burlington railroad and five miles west of Chillicothe.

Mooreville, 10 miles east of Chillicothe, and on the Burlington railroad, was laid out by W. B. Moore, April 25, 1860.

Dawn, located about 10 miles southeast of Chillicothe, on Shoal Creek, and near the line of the Milwaukee railroad, was laid off by William Hixon in March, 1853.

Avalon is located on the southeast quarter of section 14, township 56, range 23 and was laid out by David Carpenter, November 12, 1869.

Wheeling is located on the East side of section 57, range 22, on the line of the Burlington railroad, 10 miles east of Chillicothe, and was laid off October 7, 1855, by Henry Nay, and by him named for Wheeling, W. Va., the place from which he emigrated.

Chillicothe was, on August 7, 1837, ordered by the county court to be laid off and established as the county seat of Livingston county. It is located on the southwest quarter of section 36, township 58, range 24, named Chillicothe by order of the county court and John Graves was appointed as commissioner to lay it off into lots. Twenty blocks were ordered to be surveyed before September 4, 1837. The first sale aggregated the sum of \$1082.62½ and the second sale amounted to \$1807.00 and the sales thus made were on a credit of six, twelve and eighteen months. Chillicothe was incorporated by the county court August 16, 1851, and later as a city, by act of the legislature, approved March 1, 1855.

L. T. COLLIER.

Kansas City, Mo., April 6th, 1912.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The fifth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Bloomington, the university town of Indiana, May 23-25, with a good attendance and the best program that it has yet had. The Secretary, Mr. C. S. Paine, of Lincoln, Neb., reported a successful year financially, during which he had obtained eighteen life members at \$50.00 each, forty-seven sustaining members at \$5.00, one hundred and ninety-five at \$2.00, and other regular members at \$1.00 each. All might have had the name and benefits of membership by paying one dollar, but in the interest of the Association they paid the larger sums, and they and the Secretary are to be commended in the matter. Would the friends of the State Historical Society of Missouri be as public spirited, and give it the amount for life memberships?

In a meeting of the Teachers of the History Section C. A. McMurry, Superintendent of Schools at DeKalb, Illinois, gave an interesting talk on the teaching of history in the seventh and eighth grades of the public schools. He thought all the text books of history were faulty, and as a sample he showed one such book containing 550 closely printed pages, filled with facts without any setting or back ground to make them interesting. With such a book the average teacher would make the recitation simply questions on the facts stated, making it merely a test of the memory of the scholars.

Another speaker told of the teacher who wanted an appointment in the department of history instead of mathematics which she held. She thought that although she had never made any preparation for teaching history that it was merely a matter of looking in the book and asking questions of the facts stated. Mr. McMurry gave his ideas of how the teaching should be done—by what he called type studies, and throwing aside nine-tenths of what is found in the text books. He demonstrated his theory of the method by the subject the

“Virginia plantation.” The consideration of the study naturally led to the consideration of land laws, the New England town settlement as contrasted with the southern plantation, the effect of this on the people, and on slavery, and many considerations about the different sections of the country. He distributed a pamphlet of thirty-two pages in which he developed this type study. By this method the scholars became interested, developed their reasoning powers, and made the study one of interest and easily remembered.

The Association now publishes an annual volume containing the papers presented at the two meetings of the year, and it is now considering the establishment of a quarterly magazine. Friends of the Association are willing to put up fifteen hundred dollars as a five year guaranty, and a committee has been appointed to report at the meeting in Boston during the holidays to investigate as to the probability of getting a sufficient number of papers, especially those relating to the Mississippi Valley to fill four numbers each year. If the Committee finds that such papers can be provided, and some one like Prof. McLaughlin, of Chicago University, will take editorial charge of it, the executive board is authorized to begin a quarterly, probably about the time of the next summer meeting.

The next meeting of the Association will be with the American Historical Association during the holidays in Boston, and while that will be a long ways from the Mississippi Valley, yet the Association has quite a number of members living in New England and other parts of the Eastern states who will welcome its meetings there.

The next summer meeting will be at Omaha, to which very urgent invitations were received from the Governor of the State, the city officials, the Commercial Club and other organizations and individuals.

The Association ought to have as many members in Missouri as in other states, but it is woefully behind many of

them. It is to be hoped that many of the members of our Society will send Mr. Paine five dollars for sustaining membership, or one dollar for ordinary membership.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF GEN. THOS. A. SMITH
Belonging to the Society.

Letter Books.

Vol. 1 Covers dates from March, 1812, to September 7 of the same year, there being 156 letters written from Point Petre, St. Fernandina, Moosa Old Fort, and Camp before St. Augustine.

Vol 2 has from September 9, 1812, to March 28, 1813, 123 letters from Camp before St. Augustine, Point Petre, Camp New Hope and other camps.

Vol. 3 from November 27, 1813, to Oct. 27, 1814, 181 letters from Sackett's Harbor, Plattsburg, Camp Champlain, Camp Chester and Camp near Buffalo.

Vol. 4 from September 7, 1815, to May 27, 1817, 271 letters from Headquarters St. Louis and Contonment Belle Fontaine.

Vol. 5 from May 28, 1817, to May 9, 1818, 216 letters from Belle Fontaine.

Vol. 6 from May 10, 1818, to Aug. 23, 1818, 89 letters from Belle Fontaine and Franklin.

Book 7 from July 30, 1818, to Aug. 27, 1831, 381 letters from Franklin.

The letters after June 11, 1820, relate to the land office business at Franklin. In the seven books there are copies of 1417 letters. The first three books relate to the War of 1812, the next three cover the time when Gen. Smith was in command of the Western military district, having under him the forts at Prairie du Chin, Rock Island, Des Moines, Fort Osage, Fort Smith in Arkansas, etc.

Of letters and reports received by him there are 62 from O'Fallon, many from Wilkerson, and other military commanders, in all 400 letters written to him and 1417 from him.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Eighth Paper.

With some additions the following data is of inscriptions in cemetery at Lexington, Missouri, of persons who died before 1876, and of later deaths of persons more than 75 years old: Dr. Minas Adams, 1826-1898.

Miranda Clark, his wife, 1827-1898.

Dan Alumbaugh, Apr. 10, 1849, Mar. 4, 1905.

H. J. E. Ahrens d. Dec. 12, 1882, aged 62 yrs, 10 mo. 9 d.

As a citizen and civil officer he was public-spirited, useful, true to every trust, as a husband and father wise and kind; as a Christian sincere and faithful.

"He lived for his fellowmen."

Augustine Fitzhugh Alexander,

Alexandria, Va, 1837.

Lexington, Mo., 1899.

An eminent jurist a profound scholar his death was a loss to the community.

John B. Alexander, Dec. 31, 1820, Dec. 6, 1888.

Mary Elizabeth, his wife, Apr. 22, 1825. Jan. 8, 1904.

Susan Maragaret Alexander, Alexandria, Va. 1829. Lexington, 1899.

In this spot rests the mortal remains of our dear father William

B. Alexander, whose life was passed in deeds of love and benevolence to mankind. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Born MDCCLXXXVIII died MDCCCXLVI

George Arnold b. Dec. 22, 1822. d. Mar. 27, 1883.

Dr. J. F. Atkinson, b. May 22, 1814. d. Apr. 6, 1882.

Capt. W. Atkinson, d. June 6. 1849, aged 47 years.

Harriet Newill his wife, Feb. 7, 1863, aged 39 years.

Louis Baeuerle, 1830-1903.

Sophia Baeuerle, 1832-1906.

John D. Baker, d. Apr. 17, 1878, aged 81 years.

Mrs. Mary Ann Baker d. July 27, 1889, aged 92 yrs.

Sallie Ann wife of Sanford Baker b. June 6, 1847, d. Jan. 21, 1870.

Raimund Barber b. Jan. 17, 1837, d. Dec. 1, 1892.

Mrs. E. F. Barnett d. Nov. 11, 1864, aged 65 yers.

Mary O. wife of R. A. Barnette d. Jan. 9, 1879 aged 59 y. 2 ms. 11 d.

Mary Elizabeth Baumann Oct. 26, 1828-Mar. 16, 1906.

Virginia C. Bay Feb. 14, 1824, May 24 1900.

E. W. Bedford, d. Jan. 5, 1880 aged 75 yrs 26 d.

Elizabeth his wife b. July 17, 1819, d. Aug. 7, 1875.

Anna E. Bell, 1840-1898.

Joseph S. Benton, Feb. 15, 1818 Jan. 7, 1901.

Maragaret E. Benton, Oct. 31, 1823, Aug. 3, 1893.

Dr. William P. Boulware b. Sept 12, 1812. d. Dec. 29, 1874.

Debora F. his wife d. Jan. 8, 1883 in 67th year

John H. Bowman, b. at Mount Bethel Penn. Mar. 13, 1796.

Emigrated to Three Rivers, St. Joseph Co., Mich. in 1834.

Resided there till time of death. Died in Lexington, Mo.

Apr. 30, 1855, on journey to Kansas.

Orlando Bradley 1799-1875.

Orlando Bradley 1849-1883.

Evaline R. Bradley 1840-1861.

Susan D. Bradley 1805-1882.

Archelaus E. Bradley 1823-1851.

Algy M. Bradley 1835-1847.

Mary E. Bradley Feb. 21, 1842-Sept. 15, 1904.

Richard Brown d. Jan. 15, 1858. in his 80th yr.

David Brown b. Sept. 10, 1845. d. Oct. 8, 1865.

Alcenior C. wife of N. A. Bullard, 1836-1897.

Isadore W. wife of John E. Burden, b. Apr. 12, 1843, d. Apr. 26, 1873.

Elizabeth K. wife of W. C. Burns d. Feb. 9, 1880 aged 77 yrs.

J. S. Burns b. Mar. 24, 1817 d. July 5, 1861.

William C. Burns b. Barkley Co. Va. Oct. 30, 1798, d. Aug. 19, 1862.

T. R. Burris Co. D. 38th Ill Inf.

Chas. C. Carroll, Apr. 13, 1813, Feb. 25, 1885.

Mary Ann, his wife Feb. 2, 1818, Apr. 10, 1898.

Jane wife of John Cather d. Mar. 22, 1865, in her 42d yr

John Cather b. June 17, 1821 d. Mar. 1, 1875.

Minetree Catron Sept. 29, 1808, Aug. 13, 1862.

Martha Catron Apr. 14, 1808, Meh. 30, 1891.

Sallie Hickman Chambers, 1839-1894.

Paschal Hickman Chambers, 1824-1896.

Augusta Stokes Chambers, 1834-1904.

Sam'l Charlton, Co. F, 7th Mo. Cav.

Mrs Ann T. Chaw d. Jan. 31, 1866.

Col. Henry C. Chiles, b. July 6, 1818, d. Apr. 20, 1897.

Ruth Shell, wife of Col. H. C. Chiles b. May 27, 1826, d. Nov. 5, 1865.

Carrie A. wife of J. D. Clayton, and daughter of F. Y. and Jane Ewing b. Nov. 25, 1842, d. July 28, 1865.

Confederate Dead. Here heroes sleep.

W. Allen, Mo.; Bankhead; Brooks; Brown; W. Cooper; Crawford; Capt. Dale; Otha Hinton; W. McCord; G. McNiel; J. H. Mahan; John H. Mason; O'Brien; Truet; Wilkerson; W. Young; Wm Chappell, Ky.; Sheppard, Va.; Summers, Ark.; McConnell, Ireland, and others, names forgotten.

Jacob D. Conner, Baltimore, Md. Sept. 19, 1836. Jefferson City, Dec. 28, 1891.

Mary E. wife of Thos. M. Cooper b. Feb. 15, 1834. d. June 1, 1857.

Virginia Bradley wife of N. M. Cooper Jan. 17, 1842. June 4, 1899.

Ann M. wife of F. W. Davis b. Oct. 6, 1842, d. Feb. 25, 1892.

Zippora wife of R. H. Drummond d. Dec. 27, 1848 aged 44 yrs 7 ms 3d

Mrs. Anna Earl b. Mar. 14, 1846 in Willow, England, d. Mar. 31, 1888.

Martha C. wife of A. B. Earle d. May 27, 1852 aged 23yrs 11 mo 4d

Robt. H. Early, father, b. Nov. 23, 1818, d. Oct. 3, 1882.

H. A. Early, mother, b. Apr. 20, 1823, d. Sept. 21, 1871.

- Adam Easter b. Mar. 27, 1798, d. Aug. 11, 1880.
Wm H. Edwards, Sept. 19, 1838, Mar. 2, 1905.
Thos. H. Edwards d. Aug. 1, 1855.
Joel H. Ewing, b Oct. 19, 1824, d. Jan. 13, 1904.
Wm L. D. Ewing son of F. Y. and J. T. Ewing b. Nov. 8, 1845,
d. Mar. 5, 1872.
W. J. Ferguson d. Dec. 20, 1876, aged 75 yrs.
E. R. his wife d. May 20, 1889, aged 73 yrs.
Martin Fischer Corporal Co. A. 5th Regt. Cav. M. S. M. Killed
by bushwackers, Sept. 20, 1863.
Mary Ford a faithful servant d. Aug 1 1901 aged 75 yrs.
John R. Ford, May 8, 1801-Aug. 22, 1891.
C. A. his wife Oct. 27, 1814-July 7, 1901.
Elizabeth Ford d. July 29, 1875 aged 98 (?) yrs.
Ann Foster d. Sept. 13, 187— aged 87 yrs.
Sarah McIlroy d. Jan. 15, 1873 aged 94 yrs.
Nancy Gaines d. May 16, 1882 in her 98 year
Isabella Y. Gardiner, Fifeshire, Scotland, June 3, 1797, Lexington
Apr. 19, 1860.
Henry Gelzer b. in Neuhausen, Switzerland, Dec. 7, 1838, d.
Nov. 28, 1887.
Nathan Gorden, Rappahannock Co. Va. July 15, 1834, Waverly,
Mo. Nov. 5, 1905.
Mrs Victoria B. Gorden, June 16, 1839. Jan 31, 1877.
Lawson Grant July 1, 1810. Mar. 23, 1887 or 1888.
Martha C. his wife June 21, 1817 Feb. 13, 1904.
Samuel Grant, July 20, 1843, Oct. 1, 1862.
Sallie A. Green wife of James R. Green, Sept. 20, 1826-Apr.
7, 1903.
Betsey P Green wife of Col. Lewis Green born in Goochland
Co. Va. 1797. d. June 23, 1868.
Phebe Ann wife of W. H. H. Gustin d. Feb. 14, 1873 aged 31
yrs 4 ds.
Wm. Hackney born at Jefferson City June 2 1838, d. Aug. 6
1895.
Wm J. Hawkins b. in Penn. Feb. 1, 1841. d in Little Rock, Ark,
Nov. 27, 1869.

- M. A. Hayden b. Jan. 8, 1843, d. May 5, 1882.
C. Jennie Henderson, b. Apr. 15, 1837 d. May 7, 1868.
David Hill, Co. D. 1st Mo. Cav.
Wm Hill, d. Sept. 10, 1835.
Mary Hill d. Oct 17, 1840.
Benj. Mosby Hobson b. Oct. 7, 1810 in Halifax Co, Va d. Dec. 20, 1886 A preacher of the gospel.
J. W. Hudson, b. Apr. 26, 181[8] d. Apr. 8, 1846.
Jno. W. Hunt, Capt Co. K. 10th Regt. Ind. Vol., b. in Guilford Co. N. C. Apr. 26, 1826, d. Sept. 22, 1867.
Thos. Jameson b. July 31, 1829, d. Dec. 24, 1867.
B. T. John b. Nov. 8, 1839. d. Sept. 20, 1906.
Eliza A wife of Benj. T. John b. Feb. 4, 1837. d. Apr. 14, 1891.
Nancy John, Loudoun Co, Va. Jan. 27, 1801, May 6, 1897.
David John, Fauquier Co. Va Oct. 18, 1807. Apr. 1851.
John N. Johnson d. Mar. 8, 1863, aged 50 yrs.
Thos. Jones 1827-1905.
Nancy M. Woods, his wife, 1834-1894.
John Jordan b. in Barren Co. Ky., Mar. 17, 1820 d. July 16, 1857.
Robt. W. Keene 1821-1894.
Caroline Williams his wife 1828-1902.
Katie W. Keene 1853-1895.
Asa W. Keith son of J. W. & Julia M. Keith b. in Clark Co. Ky. d. Nov. 12, 1858, aged 21 yrs.
Dr. J. M. Keith d. Mar. 9, 1879 aged 64 yrs 3 mo 2 ds
M. E. Keller b. June 18, 1828 d. Aug 10, 1892.
Amelia his wife b. July 4, 1827. d. Dec. 2, 1889.
Max Keller b. Nov. 8, 1854, d Meh. 28, 1891.
Isadore Keller b. in Schenadady, N. Y. Oct. 14, 1851, d in Waco, Texas Nov. 30, 1892.
Hannah wife of Philip Kellar b. Aug. 9, 1850, d. July 10, 1886.
Augusta Keller b. July 6, 1831, d. June 25, 1895.
Albert Keller b. in Prussian Poland, Apr. 14, 1822. d. Jan. 11, 1882.
Asa T. Kirtley Feb. 17, 1809. Aug 28, 1899.
Margaret F. Kirtley June 13, 1829, Meh 18, 1903.

C. A. Kriehn Aug. 24, 1818, Apr. 10, 1906.

Maria Bunker, wife of C. A. Kriehn, May 31, 1829, Dec. 26, 1869.

Wm Webb Lamborn 1819-1897.

Wm Lankford b. Jan. 19, 1807, d. Nov. 31, 1884.

Lucy wife of Wm Lankford b. Mch 10, 1817 d. Nov. 10, 1896.

Dr. A. P. Lankford b. Apr. 11, 1841. d. June 1, 1884.

Lucy J. daughter of Wm and Lucy Lankford b. Jan. 20, 1846, d. Dec. 27, 1861.

Robert Law, Jr. 1866-1907

Robert Law, Sr, 1843—

James Lawhor b. May (2) 1812, d. Nov 21, 1880.

Wm Lehman d. June 21, 1888 aged 76 yrs 5 m 7 d

Leblicht son of A. & C. Lehmann b. Mch. 3, 1847 d. Aug. 2, 1864.

Gerhard H. Lietman b. in Brissendorf, Han. Sept 28, 1810, d. Apr. 1, 1887.

Catherine M. his wife b. in Hanover Apr. 25, 1811, d. June 11, 1894.

Chas. G. Ludwigs b. Mch 25, 1832, d. Feb. 15, 1906.

Katherine his wife b. Apr. 6, 1837 d. Apr. 1, 1894.

Eliza Nelson wife of L. A. Maclean died July 9, 1854

Her babe sleeps beside her.

Margaret B McClelland June 14, 1828, Aug. 2, 1908.

Sara B McClelland, May 28, 1842, July 7, 1903.

Mathew V. L. McClelland, Dec. 23, 1825, May 23, 1899.

Ophelia M. wife of Rev. W. T. McClure Pastor First M E. Church, South, died Jan. 20, 1887, aged 28 yrs 4 m 25 d

Henrietta wife of Frank McDowell, b Oct. 20, 1837, d. Nov. 9, 1893.

Alex. H. McFadden b. Aug. 24, 1813, d. Jan. 12, 1883.

John McFaden, 1792-1862.

Elizabeth McFadin, 1812-1859

John McFadin 1820-1899.

John T. Martin b. Jan. 27, 1806, d. July 27, 1865.

Sarah A his daughter b. Dec. 26, 1830 d. Sept. 17, 1866.

Sarah A Martin b. Apr. 16, 1810, d. Mar. 2, 1885.

Martha Jane daughter of John T. and Sarah Martin b. June 18, 1834, d. Oct. 26, 1854.

Louis Zur Megede b. in Soest, Germany, Apr. 21, 1821, d. in Kansas City, July 31, 1897.

Lieut. H. Menaugh Co. D 7th Mo. Inf.

Herman Mischon b. Oct. 6, 1836, d. Jan. 8, 1895.

Priscilla B. wife of Jno. A. Mitchell b. Nov. 10, 1810, d. June 6, 1854.

Isaac W. Mitchell b. in Ohio Co. Va. May 22, 1810, d. Aug 22, 1866.

Rebecca P. Mitchell b. Sept. 3, 1819, d. Nov. 5, 1869.

Zachariah S. Mitchell d. Mch. 20, 1882 in 66th yr.

Thomas Mockber b. Sept. 27, 1813, d. Mch. 13, 1864.

Martha B. Moshier b. Sept. 11, 1806 d. Oct. 30, 1889.

Michael Moshier b. Mch. 3, 1810. d. June 3, 1889.

Samuel Murrell b. in Albemarle Co. Va. Nov. 17, 1790, d. Sept. 1, 1859.

William Musgrove 1801-1857

Anna B. his wife 1809-1845

Hudson C. 1833-1843

Frances M. 1829-1845

Cornelia G. 1831-1847

Samuel O. 1845-1862.

Bettie 1841-1869.

(Same Monument.)

Ethan Allen 1834-1892, Ann R. Musgrove his wife 1838-1895

James Garnett Noel b June 30, 1826, d. May 9 1874.

M. E. Laura Burdine Noel b. June 2 1826 d. Sept. 5, 1888.

Sarah C. wife of R. M. Owens a daughter of J. P. and R. Wiles
d. Sept 26, 1873 aged 37 yrs

Sarah Adams Palmer, Halifax Co. Va. Apr. 8, 1828, Feb. 23, 1876.

Susan Parberry born in Franklin Co. Va. Dec. 25, 1801. d. Aug. 14, 1872.

Henry E. Parberry b. Dec. 25, 1836. d. Apr. 12, 1868.

David Day Park, b. in Thompson Co — May 18, 1818, d. Aug. 2, 1854.

Myron Fayette Patterson, b. Rochester, N. Y. Nov. 16, 1819,
d. Feb. 5, 1889.

Mary Keith Perrie 1844-1899.

Ebenezer W. Pomeroy b. in Stockbridge Mass, May 13, 1806,
d June 22, 1861.

Maria Aull, his wife, b. in New Castle Del. Dec. 15, 1799, d.
Aug 18, 1892.

Eliza A. Powell b. Sept. 25, 1809 d. Feb. 11, 1886.

Burr G. Powell, b. Sept. 2, 1800, d. Dec. 26, 1883.

Mattie A. wife of W H Powell daughter of Lawson & Martha
Grant b. Feb 8, 1853, d. Oct. 23, 1881.

Jacob A. Price Sept. 15, 1822, Mar. 3, 1895.

Sarah J. his wife Feb. 14 1828, Jan 3, 1893.

Thos. Price b. Feb. 27, 1808, d. Mch. 8, 1883.

Sophia wife of Thos. Proctor b. Dec. 1, 1801, d. May 10, 1884.

Thomas Proctor b. Jan. 4, 1797, d. Aug. 1, 1870.

A. J. Ramey, b. Dec. 13, 1840, d. Jan. 11, 1897.

John Rebhan Aug. 19, 1816, Nov. 23, 1892.

Elizabeth A. his wife Mch. 10, 1818, Sept. 15, 1869.

John Reid b. Mason Co. Ky. Dec. 20, 1821, d. July 13, 1890.

John E. Robinson, 1832-1905

Lydia wife of Joseph Robinson d. Sept. 10, 1878 aged 76 yrs.

Joseph Robinson b. Mch 7, 1799. d. Mch. 22, 1860.

Peggie Rouse b. Apr. 5, 1782, d. Mch. 14, 1863.

Lydia O. wife of J. R. Runyon, b. in Mayslick, Ky., Dec. 1st,
1808, d. Feb. 23, 1882.

A. D. Russell d. Aug 26, 1876 aged 57 yrs.

Judge John F. Ryland b. Nov. 2 1797 d. Sept. 10, 1873

Elizabeth B. Ryland his wife b. Mch 6, 1815, d. Mch. 19, 1884.

Martha M. Ryland b. Feb. 14, 1796, d. May 24, 1833.

Judge John Edwin Ryland, Fayette, Mo., July 8, 1830-Dec. 15,
1905.

Susan Sample, colored, d. Jan. 13, 1875 in 75th yr. .

Gottlieb Schieber Dec. 8, 1818, Aug. 27, 1895.

Christine his wife Dec. 11, 1824 Mch. 16, 1897.

Mary Ann wife of Jesse Schofield b. Oct. 3, 1801, d. Feb. 4,
1858.

- Andalusia Z. wife of Jesse Schofield b. May 20, 1828, d. June 1 1875.
- Mary J. wife of Thos. Scott d. Oct. 6, 1872 aged 32 yrs.
- Danl F. Sears, b. Jan. 16, 1822, d. Dec. 7, 1856.
- Geo. W. Sedwick b. in King George Co. Va. May 4, 1814, d. June 28, 1887.
- Sue L. wife of Charles Sevier b. Dec. 10, 1837, d. June 4, 1866.
- Sarah wife of Chas. Shier b. in Dorsetshire, Eng., Aug. 19, 1819 d. Feb. 10, 1889.
- Chas. Shier b. in Dorsetshire, Eng. July 28, 1819, d. June 2, 1900.
- Sarah wife of John Shier d. Apr. 28, 1879, aged 61 yrs.
- Mary Ann wife of David Small b. Dec. 23, 1813, d. Jan. 30, 1878.
- David Small b. July 1, 1807 d. Aug. 18, 1870.
- L. Bird Smith b. Feb. 20, 1848, d. May 14, 1870.
- R. Augustine Smith b. Oct. 14, 1818, d. Sept. 12, 1845.
- Mary M. wife of Robert N. Smith b. Nov. 17, 1796, d. Aug. 6, 1866.
- Dr. R. B. Smith, son of Robert N. & Mary M. Smith b. May 3, 1824, d. Feb. 23, 1871.
- Robt. N. Smith b. in Yorktown, Va, June 6, 1794, d. Apr. 10, 1877.
- Thos. G. Smith 1804-1860.
- Mary E. wife of F. D. Smith d. May 8, 1867 aged 26 yrs 4 m 25 d
- A. W. Smith Jan 20, 1839 Nov. 15, 1898.
- Sarah M. C. wife of Lawson Smith Aug. 20, 1811, d. Nov. 24, 1886.
- Lawson Smith b. May 11, 1807 d. Jan. 8, 1885.
- Fannie A. wife of Geo. R. Smith d. June 16, 1873, aged 35 yrs
- James G Suddath 1800-1874.
- Ariadene N. his wife 1822-1899.
- Henry Switzer b. Feb. 10, 1837, d. Apr. 29, 1880.
- Phebe his wife, daughter of H. & M. Turner, b. Meh. 14, 1854, d. Jan. 16, 1867.
- Kernode Taubman b. Aug 11, 1800, d. Aug. 1851.

Elizabeth his wife born 1798, d. Jan. 31, 1883.

Thomas H. Taubman Mch 21, 1827, Mch. 11, 1908.

Jane his wife d. Sept. 26, 1857 aged 35 yrs.

Isabel Keith Taylor daughter of J. M. & E. Keith, b. Aug. 31, 1839. d. Sept. 8, 1864.

Jno. B. Taylor d May 5 1866 in 60th yr

Robt. Taylor b. Dec. 20, 1830 d. Jan 16, 1890.

Susan A. Taylor b. Nov. 3, 1811, d. July 29, 1887.

Daniel Tibbs d. 1870 in 83d yr

Lock Terhune Aug. 13, 1835 June 12, 1893.

Mary Terhune his wife Sept. 12, 1852.

Nancy Thomas b. May 6, 1789 d. Apr. 20, 1872.

Joseph Lyle Thomas 1829-1900 A Confederate Soldier.

Lucy A. W. wife of Dr. J. W. Trader, b. Sept. 19, 1837 d. Feb. 12, 1865.

Harriet Foster wife of Joseph H. Trotter, d. May 20, 1888 aged 56 yrs 6 m 6 d.

John W. son of J. & E. Trotter b. Feb. 24, 1836, d. Aug. 13, 1864.

Albert D. Trout b. in Trimble Co. Ky, May 27, 1833. d. Oct. 11, 1861.

Mary wife of Henry Turner, b. in Salisbury, Eng. Mch. 22, 1806. d. May 20, 1880.

Wm P Tyree b. 1821, d. May 23, 1874

Wm H. H. Vondevort Serg. Co. I. 1st Cav. M. S. M. July 1863, aged 22 yrs 1 mo 19 d

Lewis W. Wernwag July 20, 1836 Aug 23, 1892.

(Same Monument.)

Lucy S. Honer Aug. 14, 1817 Sept. 21, 1887

Caroline S. Whelan b Feb. 27, 1811, d. Jan. 14, 1888.

N. J. Whelan b. Feb. 24, 1811, d. Apr. 17, 1876.

Clarissa Johnson, wife of W. S. Widby, d. Aug. 31, 1858, aged 37 yrs 6 mos.

Christian Wiedman, Corporal Co. F. 10th Mo. Cav. b. Mch 24, 1827 d. Aug. 4, 1895

Rachel M. Wilcox wife of Dr. T. E. Wilcox d. Aug. 15, 1841 aged 27 yrs

Rebecca, wife of J. P. Wiles, aged 80 yrs 2 mo 15 d

Joel E. son of J. P. & R. Wiles b. Aug. 29, 1840, d. Feb 13, 1865.

Anna Marie wife of Henry Wilkening b. Dec. 21, 1828 d. Apr. 3 1862.

Heinrich W. Winkler July 15, 1829 Nov 24, 1905.

J. F. E. Winkler Sept. 19, 1825 Nov 12, 1904

Henrietta K. Winkler, Apr. 12, 1838 Mch. 2, 1906

Marquis W. Withers b. in Garret Co. Ky. Mch. 18, 1815, d. Aug. 18, 1885.

James M. Withers d. Oct. 9, 1891, aged 67 yrs 7 m 6 d

Ella Fanny wife of T. C. Wood b. July 6, 1850, d. Apr 6 1883.

Mathew T Wright d. May 15, 1871 aged 32 yrs 6 m 3 d

Mathew Wright d. May 15, 1868, aged 86 yrs.

Capt. John Wyatt b. Mch 11, 1788. d. Feb. 16, 1865.

Matilda H. Young wife of Fred D. Smith Sept. 14, 1834, May 28, 1907.

Dr. G. W. Young b. June 4, 1821 d. Dec 10, 1888.

Ellen wife of John C. Young, Sr., b. Oct. 7 1841, d. Jan. 9, 1898.

Evan Young 1835-1904

Addie M. Shelby his wife 1841—

Shelby Young 1864-1871.

LATE ACQUISITIONS.

The State Historical Society has lately received some interesting material, both printed and manuscript. Of the latter it has from Cooper County court house, records giving data of the early pioneers from 1821 to 1835; eight books of assessment lists when slaves were a part of the personal property, the detailed United States census of 1850 for Cooper County, old mercantile day books and ledgers of 1857, the oaths of loyalty required under the Gamble convention and the Drake Constitution, and various other manuscript matters.

From Potosi, Farmington, Jackson and Ste. Genevieve similar material was obtained including old pioneer records of Cape Girardeau county from 1826 to 1843, and Madison county from 1826 to 1856, and mercantile day books and ledgers, 1827 to 1830, record of oaths of loyalty of Cape Girardeau county, and the detailed United States census of Ste. Genevieve county for 1860.

A large number of copies of eighteen newspapers of Southeast Missouri, dating back to 1825, were received from the editors, Eli D. Ake, F. A. McGuire and Joseph W. Ernst.

These included the first number of "The Cape Girardeau Eagle," issued in 1861 by the First Wisconsin cavalry.

From the United States Treasury Department 119 different pieces of confederate money was received.

Among the printed books and pamphlets are many additions to the collection of Missouri authors, and society and church minutes. A copy of Green's Historic Families of Kentucky, donated by W. C. Breckenridge, of St. Louis, is a scarce book of much value.

BOOK NOTICES.

Government in Missouri, local, state, and national. By **Isidor Loeb**, Ph. D., LL. B. Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law in the University of Missouri. N. Y., Cin., Chi., American Book Co. (c. 1912) 12 mo., 237 p.

The first part of this work considers society and government in the abstract; the second, local government, county, township, city and town; the third, state government, its executive, legislative and judicial departments; and the fourth, the national government. Following each section are suggested questions, which call attention of the scholar to the points in each that are to be understood and remembered. The scholars of the elementary schools will find it a work of interest, and well adapted to their needs.

The Society has the following works on the government of Missouri, which indicate that considerable attention has been given to this subject in Missouri:

J. W. Barnard, 1895 and 1896.

Charles Frederick Hicks, 1897.

A. E. Clarendon, 1897.

M. L. G. and C. Guillaume Thummel and Perry S. Rader, 1897.

Perry S. Rader, second edition, date not given.

Isidor Loeb, 1907.

Jere T. Muir, 1908.

Isidor Loeb, 1912.

This latest one will certainly be found preferable for adoption by the schools to any of the earlier ones.

A History of Missouri for the grades. By **Jonas Viles**, Ph. D. Professor of American History in the University of Missouri. N. Y., Cin. and Chi. American Book Co. (c. 1912).

There is no state in the Union which presents a greater number of important and interesting events in history than Missouri. The variety of climate and resources from the cotton of the South to the grains and fruits of the North, the

French, Spanish and American rules, the Louisiana purchase, the coming of Boone and other early pioneers, the Santa Fe trail and its trade, the New Madrid earthquake, the Lewis and Clark and other expeditions through its borders, the Missouri Compromise, and the fight over its admission into the Union, the commanding position of Thos. H. Benton and others of its statesmen, the Mormon "war," the Kansas border troubles, the Civil war with the first land battle of that war fought within its borders, the voluntary emancipation of slavery, and its commanding position in later times in all lines of enterprise and politics make it an ideal state for the work of the historian.

The State Historical Society hopes to have these interesting events made as familiar to its citizens as are the events connected with the older states to their citizens, and they will be if all the schools require their study.

The State Histories for the use of schools have been almost as numerous as those on its government. The Society has copies of the following:

Perry S. Rader, 1891 and 1897.

J. W. Barnard, 1895 and 1896.

Walter Williams, 1907.

Jere T. Muir, 1908.

Jonas Viles, 1912.

And Musick's *Stories of Missouri* is a somewhat similar work.

This history is bound in the same volume with Dr. Loeb's *Civil Government*, and the joint work should be adopted in all the grade schools of the state.

The Justice of the Mexican War. By Charles H. Owen. N. Y. and Lond. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765. By Winifred Trepler Root, Ph. D. University of Pennsylvania, 1912.

Notice of the two above works will be given in the next Review.

In the Beginning. An address read by **Geo. S. Bryant** at the 50th anniversary of the occupancy of the present church building, 1835-1854-1904. Independence. n. d.

This contains a history of the Christian church at Independence by Mr. Bryant, a member of this Society, and the Principal of the Independence High school.

Such addresses ought to be read in all our churches, even without waiting for the semi-centenials, and should be printed to preserve the early history, and it would not be out of place to go into pretty full detail of the early membership, and changes of pastors.

The Review has published county or local histories of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Christian, Mormon and Catholic churches, and would be pleased to have others contributed to the Historical Society.

Address delivered by Judge John F. Philips on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1912, at the Omaha Club, Omaha, Nebraska. n. p., n. d.

Judge Philips was "cribb'd, cabin'd, confin'd" so long on the bench, State and Federal, that he no doubt desired freedom from the enforced labor unavoidably connected with the positions, but his mind was too active, and his love of intellectual work too great, to allow him to rest in idleness. This address is what we would expect from the Judge, and we hope for long days for him that he may often give us delight with what comes from his pen or his lips.

The Mirror, Wm. M. Reedy, Editor. Special issue, May 9, 1912. Price, 25 cents.

Of all special issues of Missouri periodicals during the past year none equal the above. It is of the regular Mirror size, and of 264 pages with very many portraits and other pictures of full size of the page. This gives a cabinet size portrait that is large enough to show what the person really looks like. In addition to the biographical sketches, and the Reedy editorials, the principal article is "St. Louis Today,"

by Walter B. Stevens, filling twenty-nine of the pages. The contents, the illustrations and the enterprise shown are to be commended.

Department of the Interior. Bureau of Education. Legislative Circulars.

The Society regularly receives circulars from the Bureau of Education showing all bills pending and legislative reports made in Congress and the different states, in regard to educational matters. A late publication of the Bureau shows interesting facts regarding the comparison of boys and girls in mathematical studies, and also of white and black children in the same.

The Grace of Healing. By **J. W. Byers.** . . Moundsville, W. Va., Gospel Trumpet Pub. Co., 1899. 12 mo. 342 pp.

Rays of Hope. A Book of Encouragement. By **D. O. Teasley,** 1909. Anderson, Ind., Gospel Trumpet Company. 172 pp.

A Religious Controversy. By **Chas. E. Orr.** Anderson, Ind. Gospel Trumpet Company, 92 pp.

The above three religious books have been received from the publishing company, and will be found interesting works. The Gospel Trumpet company has quite a list of religious works which it publishes.

HIGH SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS.

One of the lines of collecting to which the State Historical Society of Missouri has given special attention is that of College and School periodicals, including the year books of classes in the different institutions. Of these it has 225 different titles, the total separate issues being more than 4000. When to these are added the annual catalogs of the colleges and schools, and the publications of the State Superintendent of schools, and the proceedings of the State Teachers Asso-

ciation it can readily be seen that the society has much relating to the educational history of the State.

The Cresset, a year-book published by the Senior class of the Columbia High School, is one of the most creditable, in the contents, the illustrations and the general appearance of the work, and Superintendent Hays and the school are to be congratulated on its success.

NECROLOGY.

JOHN J. COLE, a member of this Society, the president of Cole Bros. Lightning Rod Company, of St. Louis, died at his residence in St. Louis May 19, 1912. He was born in Indiana, February 14, 1836, lived in Iowa for some years, and moved to St. Louis in 1866, and has since resided there. In 1868 he established and edited the St. Louis Herald, a monthly trade journal, which obtained a wide circulation. He made many important inventions and improvements relating to lightning rods, and was a student of electric phenomena in general. He was one of the first members of the Mercantile club of St. Louis, of the Mercantile Library Associations and of various other associations.

JUDGE JAMES BRITTON GANTT, a member and active friend of this Society died at his home in Jefferson City, May 28, 1912. He was born in Putnam county, Georgia, October 26, 1845, and when sixteen years of age he enlisted in the Twelfth Georgia Infantry and served in Stonewall Jackson's army of North Virginia. He took part in many battles and was several times wounded from which he never entirely recovered. He graduated from the University of Virginia in 1868, was admitted to the bar in St. Louis, and then went to Clinton in 1869, afterwards for two years he was a partner in Sedalia with Judge John F. Philips, later of the United States District Court and Geo. G. Vest, later United States Senator. In 1880 Judge Gantt was elected Judge of the Circuit Court at Clinton, and in 1890 he was elected to the Supreme Court, and re-elected in 1900. He was again a candidate in 1910, and at the time of his death a contest was pending between him and his successor, Judge Brown.

MAJOR GENERAL FREDERICK DENT GRANT, eldest son of Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth president of the United States, was born at St. Louis, May 30, 1850. During the Civil

war he was with his father much of the time and afterwards entered West Point where he graduated in 1871. Under Harrison he was Minister to Austria. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American war he again entered the army, and since remained in service and at the time of his death was in command of the department of the East. He died in New York City, April 12, 1912.

HON. THOS. E. KENNY born in St. Louis, in poverty, beginning his career as a newsboy, and from a leader of boys became a leader of men. He served two terms as a member of the House of Delegates of St. Louis, and was a member of the Forty-fifth and Fifty-sixth General Assemblies of the state of Missouri. His work in that body was that of a reformer. He was the author of the Child labor laws, and advocated the compulsory education law, the nine hour law for women, and other reform measures. He died at his bungalow near Kirkwood, May 15, 1912.

HON. JAMES CLIFTON STONE was born in Winchester, Kentucky, April 22, 1856, and died at his home in Langdon, Missouri, May 17, 1912. Most of his life was spent in Kansas, and he was a member of the Kansas State Senate from the Leavenworth district one term.

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